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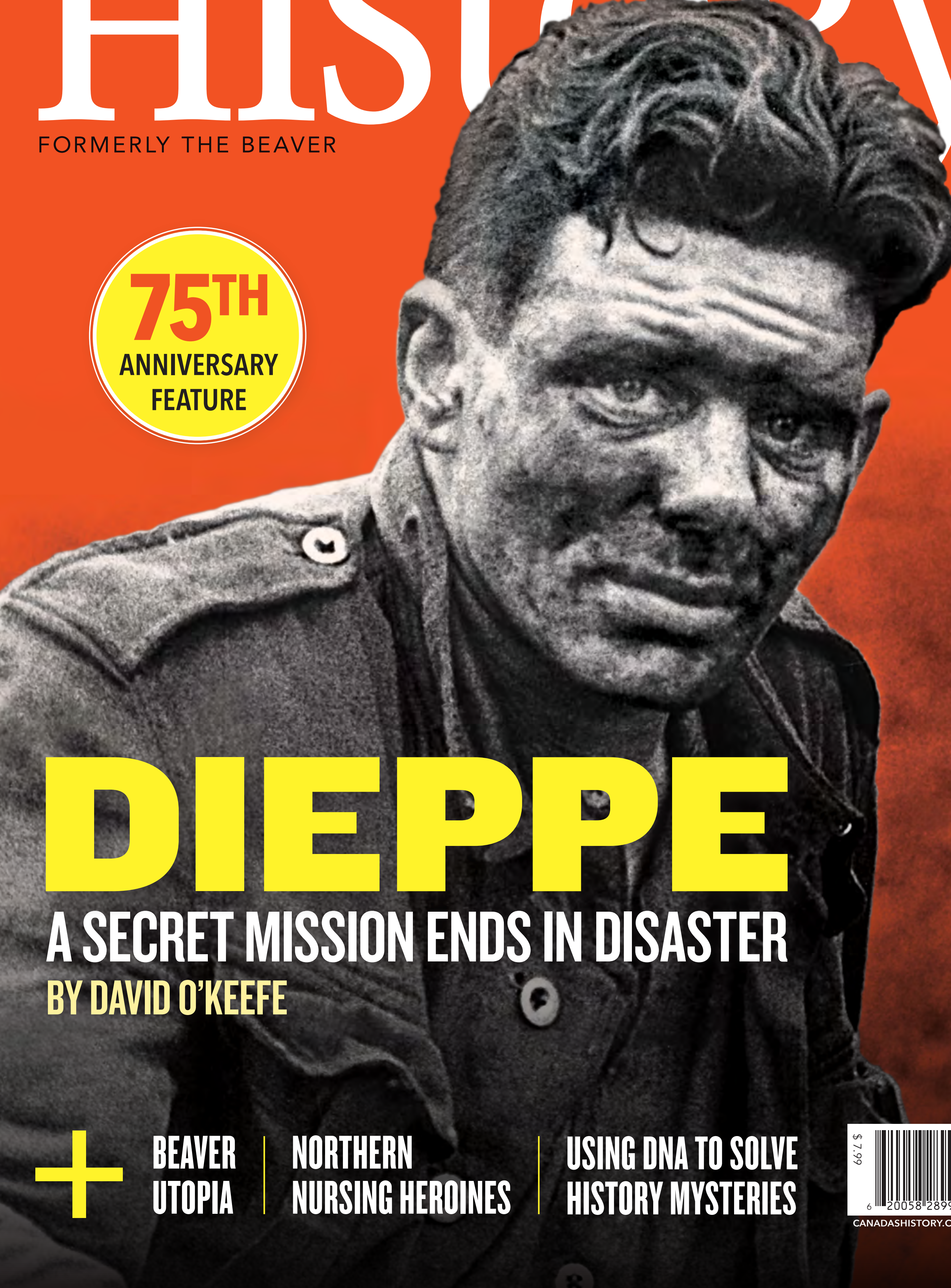

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CANADA'S HISTORY
75TH
DIEPPE
A SECRET MISSION ENDS IN DISASTER

On the cover

This portrait of an unidentified Allied soldier was taken following the Dieppe Raid on August 19, 1942. The photo comes from the ullstein bild picture library in Berlin via Getty Images.

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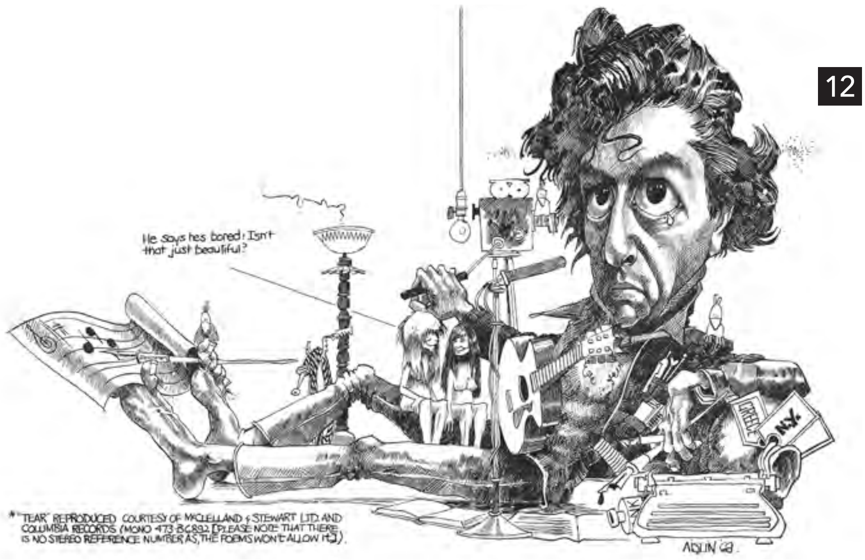
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He says hes bored! Isn't that just beautiful?
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EDITOR'S NOTE

Pages from the past

In the late summer of 1942, Clifford Wilson and the editorial team at Hudson Bay House in Winnipeg were busy beavering away on the fall issue of *The Beaver* magazine.

Featuring a furry fisher on the cover, the September 1942 issue included stories on how to hunt walrus, the Fraser River gold rush of 1858, and the artistic styles of West Coast Indigenous artists.

Since *The Beaver* was at the time "A Magazine of the North," it's not surprising that the issue doesn't reference the terrible raid gone wrong on Nazi-occupied France that took place on August 19, 1942.

Of the more than six thousand Allied servicemen — including almost five thousand Canadians — who stormed the heavily defended beaches at Dieppe, more than a thousand were killed and about twenty-three hundred were captured.

It's been seventy-five years since the Dieppe raid, and in that time many motives have been put forward for the attack. In this issue, historian and author David O'Keefe offers the primary reason for the raid — and why it failed.

Elsewhere in this issue, historian Heidi Coombs-Thorne recounts the heroic efforts of the Grenfell Mission nurses, who provided health care in remote Newfoundland and Labrador and Quebec in the early twentieth century; Carolyn Harris reveals the stories behind the places in Canada named after royalty; and Rachel Poliquin reveals the wacky misconceptions that surrounded New World beavers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As for *The Beaver* magazine, the September issue did contain a small item on the Second World War — in the form of a photo essay on page thirty-one, showing troops marching in downtown Winnipeg.

I know this because I looked the issue up in our new online archive, which officially launched last month. More than a year in the making, Canada's History Archive is a free online database of more than ninety years of *The Beaver* magazine, plus recent issues of *Canada's History* and *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*.

We invite you to go online at CanadasHistory.ca/Archive to explore the legacy of *The Beaver*. Whether you're a researcher, an educator or student, or simply a history enthusiast, the archive offers plenty of opportunities to engage, to explore, and to think critically and historically about the stories and the history it offers.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

David O'Keefe wrote "Dieppe." He is a professor of modern and military history at Marianopolis College in Westmount, Montreal, and formerly served as a research/liaison officer and signals intelligence specialist for the Department of National Defence and as an infantry officer in the Royal Highland Regiment. His book *One Day in August: The Untold Story Behind Canada's Tragedy at Dieppe*, was shortlisted for the RBC Taylor Prize.

Rachel Poliquin wrote "Working Like a Beaver." She is the author of *Beaver*, part of Reaktion Books' acclaimed Animal series, and *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing*. She has written for *The New York Times*, *Science Friday*, and *The Believer*. Her current project is a series for young readers about the surprising super-talents of belittled beasts. It is to be published in 2018.

Heidi Coombs-Thorne is the author of "Grenfell Mission Heroines." She is a research associate with the Faculty of Medicine at Memorial University. Coombs-Thorne has a Ph.D. in history, focusing on nursing with the Grenfell Mission in northern Newfoundland and Labrador. Currently vice-president of the Newfoundland and Labrador Historical Society, she recently completed post-doctoral research on the Grenfell Mission and Labrador's Southern Inuit.

Carolyn Harris wrote "The Queen's Land." She is the author of *Magna Carta and Its Gifts to Canada* (Dundurn, 2015), *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) and *Raising Royalty: 1000 Years of Royal Parenting* (Dundurn, 2017). She received a Ph.D. in history from Queen's University in 2012 and teaches history at the University of Toronto School of Continuing Studies.

PHOTO TOP LEFT: ANDREW WORKMAN

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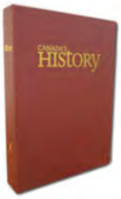
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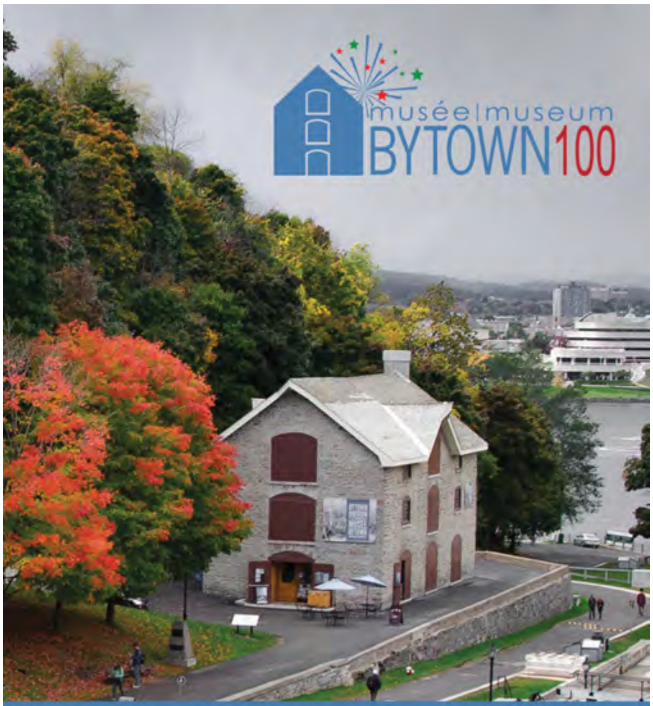
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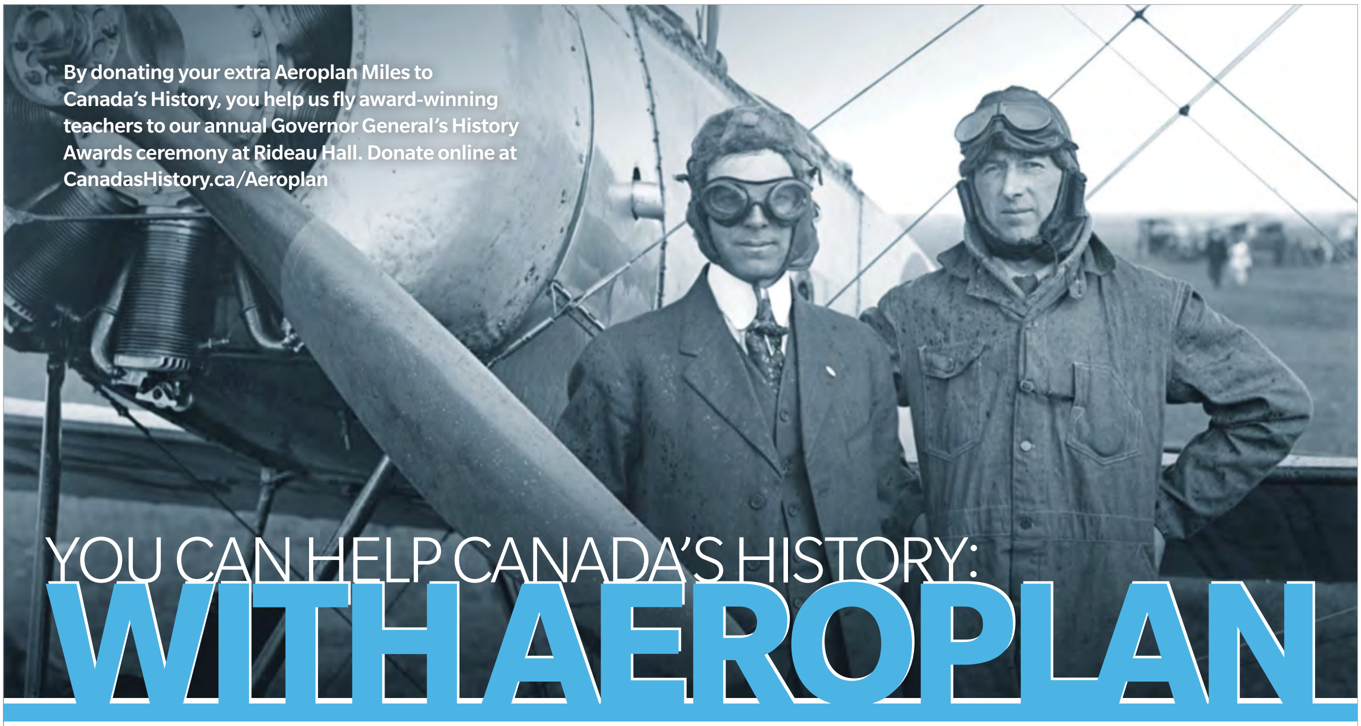

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CANADA'S HISTORY

No need for a national identity

Andrew Coyne could not be more wrong in saying that Canada "must be" — or become — a nation ["Confederation Derailed," June-July 2017]. Canada works because it is a federation without being a nation. Like culture, national identity is regional. Coyne uses the example of Spain as a nation, but Spain is rife with regional identity conflict; think of the Basque and Catalan regions. Coyne points to the United States as a "counter-example," but regional differences are pronounced in the U.S. The American obsession with being "one nation, indivisible" reflects that country's struggle to hold together disparities that strain at the seams, not the presence of a "national us." Successful federations do not require a federal national identity.

The ability to embrace differences — different nations — within a shared political unit — a federal unit — without requiring belonging to a larger nation is the project facing the twenty-first century.

Jason Brock
Toronto

Thinking about the future

Congratulations, you got me! I have been an avid reader for many years and have learned most of my Canadian history from your fine magazine.

But this edition ["Big Questions of Canada," June-July 2017] was different. Rather than just educating me about our history it has forced me to really think about the future of our country. I have read most of the articles more than once and expect to continue.

This issue would be a valuable addition to any Canadian history curriculum at any level. Good for you, and thank you.

John Buchan
Penetanguishene, Ontario

Respectful reconciliation

Ry Moran's article titled "Rights and Reconciliation" in the June-July 2017 issue is, in our opinion, in the top ranks of the most outstanding articles we have ever read in *Canada's History* and its predecessor, *The Beaver*.

His conclusion that "mutually respectful relationships ... [between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples] is the path for real reconciliation to occur" is a message filled with wisdom.

It would be great if schoolchildren in Canada could read Moran's paper.

George and Terry Goulet
Sechelt, British Columbia

Indigenous art hits home

Congratulations to Kent Monkman for his excellent, thought-provoking paintings in the June-July issue. *The Scream* particularly strikes home because my children and grandson are Indigenous.

Many Indigenous children are routinely removed today from their homes and never given back because their families do not have the money to fight for them in court. Reports say there are more Native children in care today than there ever were during the residential school days. Monkman's painting could depict today.

Mary Lowther
Mesachie Lake, British Columbia

Bison question is complex

Letter writer Don Chapman criticizes Garrett Wilson ["Refugee Crisis," February-March 2017] for not calling the disappearance of the bison from the northern plains a systematic slaughter. It's not that simple. A new collection of essays [co-edited by the writer], *Bison and People on the North American Great Plains: A Deep Environmental History*, offers a more comprehensive explanation for what happened — how it was a combination of factors and not only a consequence of indiscriminate killing by white hunters. The story is complex, nuanced, and interesting.

Bill Waiser
Saskatoon

Chiselled features

The April-May 2017 issue has a photograph of the war memorial in Welland, Ontario. Who was the sculptor of this monument? We know the names of authors and painters, but only rarely are we aware of the names of the sculptors of the monuments we see throughout the country.

However, in this case we do know. The sculptor was Elizabeth Wyn Wood of Orillia, Ontario. Her works are part of the National Gallery of Canada collection.

Wendy Hutchings
Orillia, Ontario

Viola who?

The interesting thing about reading the article about Viola Desmond ["A woman of note," April-May 2017] is that, after reading it with all care and attention, we still have no idea why she is being honoured.

David Peever
Canadian currently living
in the United States

Editor's note: Oops. Viola Desmond was a black businesswoman who challenged racial segregation in Nova Scotia in the 1940s.

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of correspondence. Email your comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to Canada's History, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

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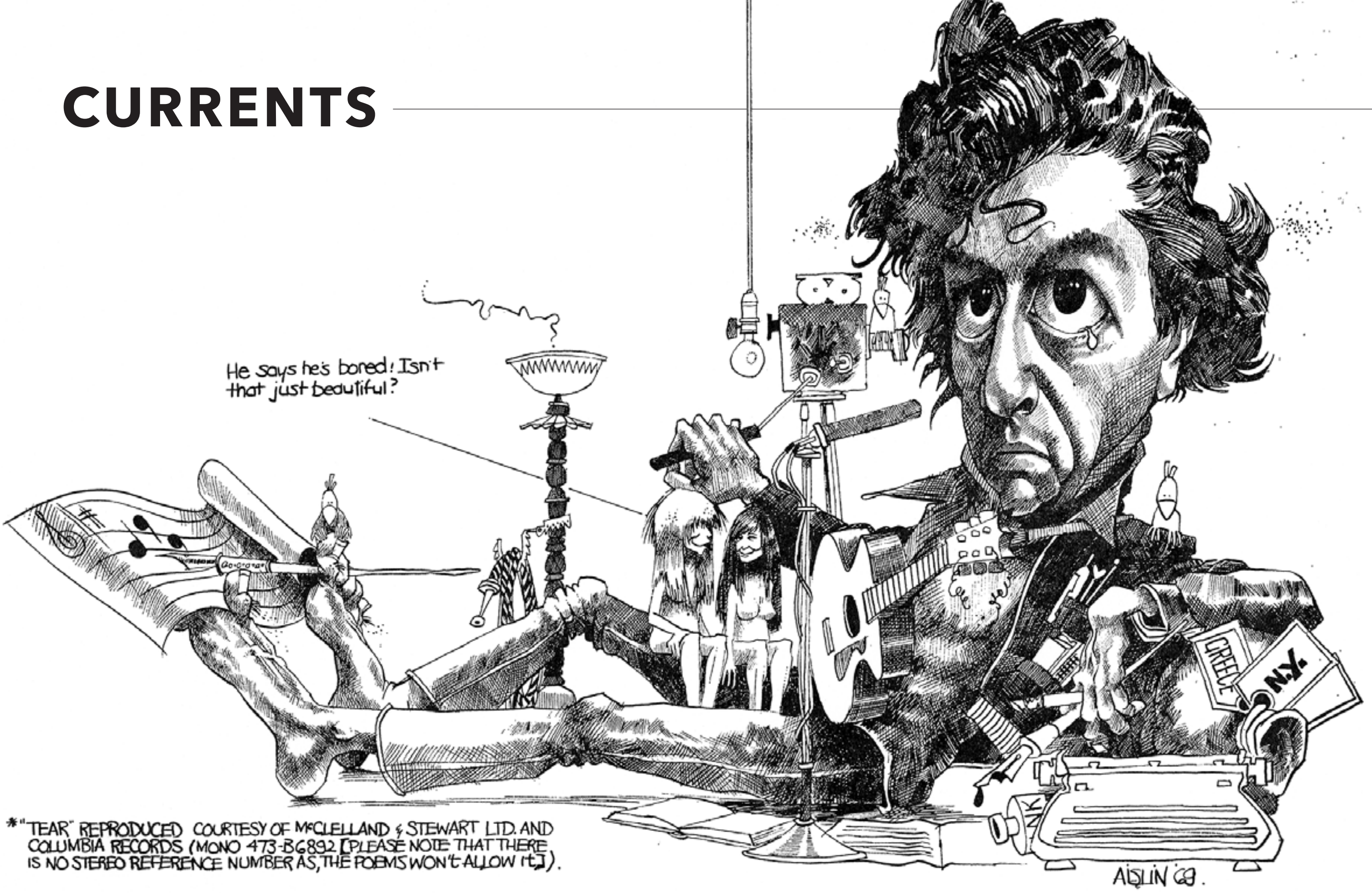
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AISLIN '69.

GIFT OF TERRY MOSHER, M2016.28.6 © MCCORD MUSEUM.

Q & A

Drawing the line

Editorial cartoonist Terry 'Aislin' Mosher reflects on a half century of satire. *by Moriah Campbell*

With three exhibitions and a new book in 2017, Terry Mosher is marking his fiftieth year of editorial cartooning with a flurry of activity. Since 1967, Mosher has skewered the shenanigans of Canadian and Quebec society from his vantage point in Montreal, first with the *Montreal Star* and then with the *Montreal Gazette* after 1972. *Canada's History* spoke recently with Mosher, who reflected on his most memorable moments.

Why are editorial cartoons important in today's media?
Well, political cartooning is just one form of satire, a very public one. And satire is very important in terms of proving the ability of society to laugh at itself.

What makes a great editorial cartoon?
It often hinges on an event or something of importance in the public mind. I think good cartooning is about really questioning powerful structures; therefore a good strong cartoon is usually critical or laughing at some major institution.

Are there lines that editorial cartoonists shouldn't cross?
I don't think of things as being too risqué to touch, but I do think of things as being too personal to touch. For example, when [former Quebec Premier] Lucien Bouchard lost his leg to a terrible flesh-eating disease, we didn't draw anything on that immediately. It was just not called for. Another good example is that, if a married politician is having some domestic difficulty, unless it's somehow affecting their performance, [it] isn't of much interest to us.

Who has been your favourite subject to draw, and why?
I would have to list at least five or six people: René Lévesque, at the beginning, who was really a fascinating character, then Jean Drapeau, the mayor of Montreal, Pierre Trudeau, of course, and Brian Mulroney. There was also a little-known politician out of Quebec, Louise Beaudoin — I had a tremendous time with her. She was the [provincial] minister of language here in the late 1990s, and she was very severe about the application of the French-only law, so I started to draw her as a dominatrix, and it caught fire. People loved it.

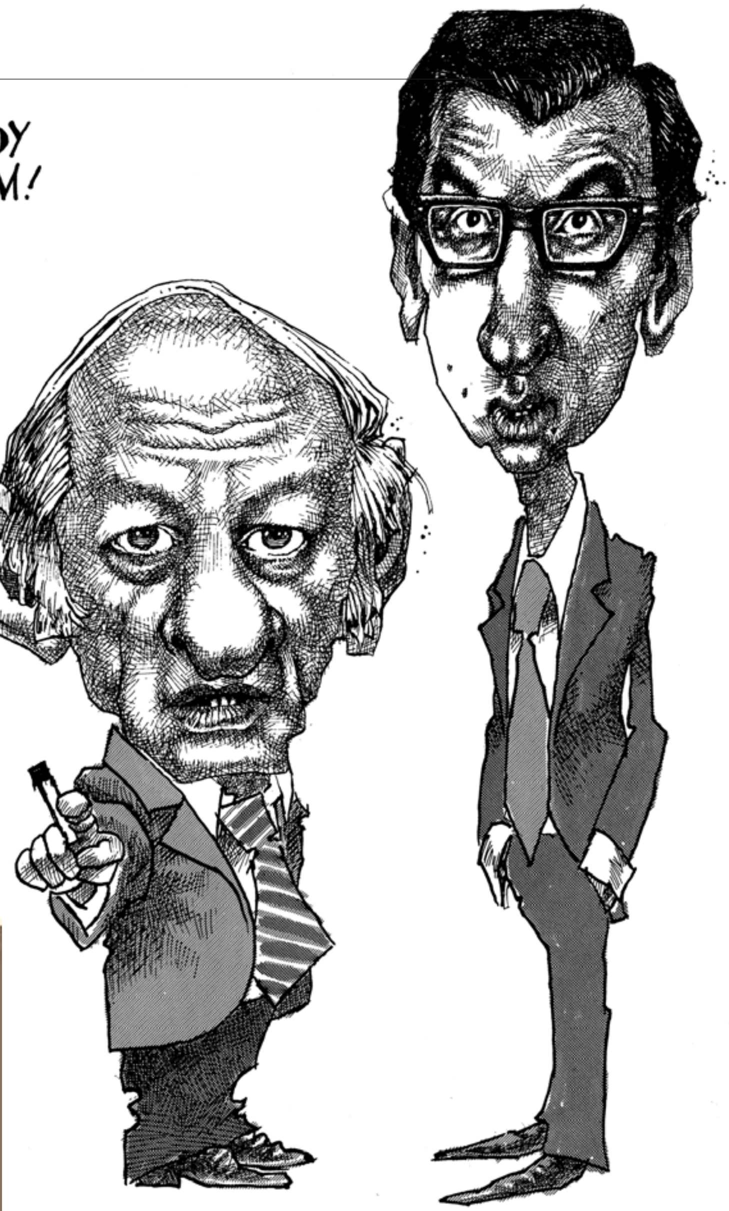
Has there been any one cartoon that has received an unusual amount of backlash or praise?
Yes. The day after the Parti Québécois was elected in 1976 was the most politically electric day I've witnessed in Quebec, and I've witnessed a lot of them. It was really a shock to my English-language readers of the *Gazette*. People were

Left: Leonard Cohen, *Montreal Star*, June 21, 1969.

Right: O.K. Everybody take a Valium!, *Montreal Gazette*, November 16, 1976.

Below: Justin Trudeau, *Zoomer* magazine, December 2016.

Bottom right: Mount Royal Cross, *Montreal Gazette*, March 13, 2008.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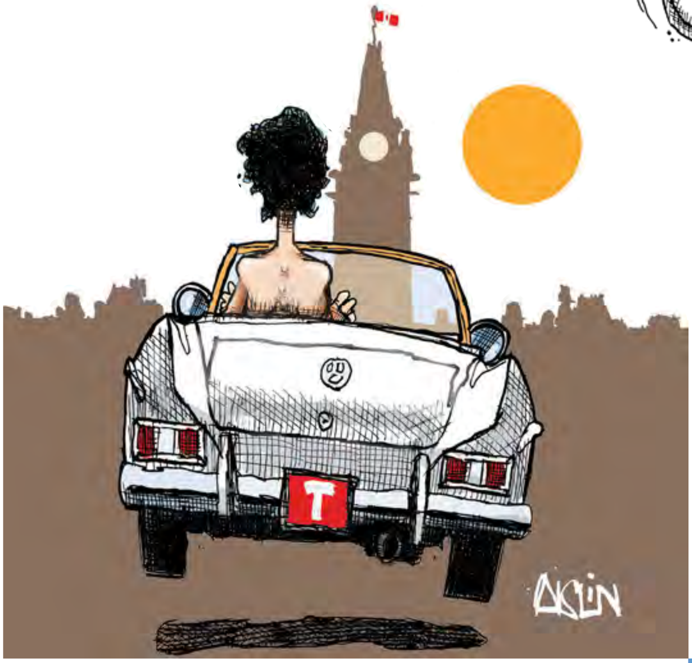
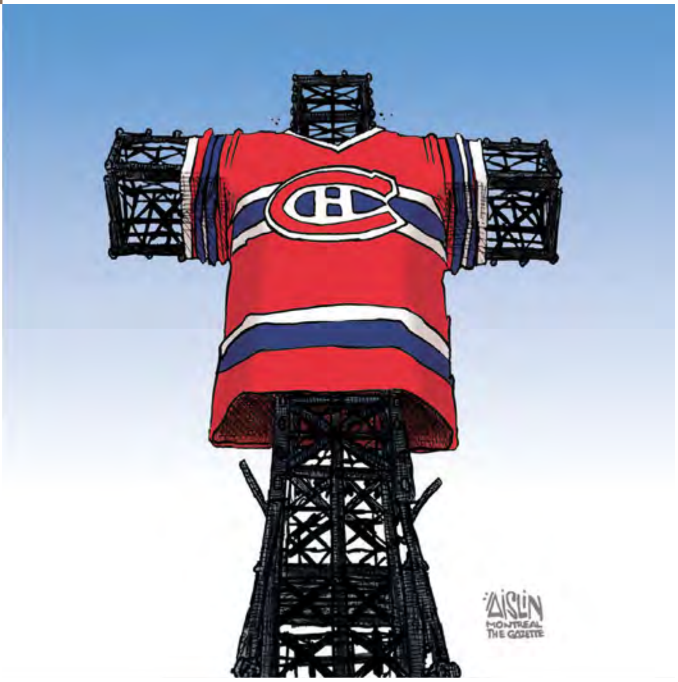


appalled. They didn't know what to do — a separatist government had been suddenly elected. It was a huge shock. So I drew a cartoon that appeared in the newspaper the day after, and I've had more reaction to this cartoon than any I've ever drawn. I had René Lévesque point out at the reader and say "O.K. Everybody take a Valium!"

How do politicians react to being satirized?
I think the smart politicians understand fairly quickly that the cartoonist is not drawing for them; the cartoonist is drawing for the reader. I've been really tough on people, like Brian Mulroney and a whole raft of other politicians. But if they're smart then they'll realize that this is an indicator of how people are receiving them. That's our strength. We draw for people — we don't draw for politicians.

Terry Mosher's new book is Trudeau to Trudeau: 50 years of Aislin. *The exhibition Aislin: 50 years of Cartoons is on display at the McCord Museum in Montreal until August 13.*



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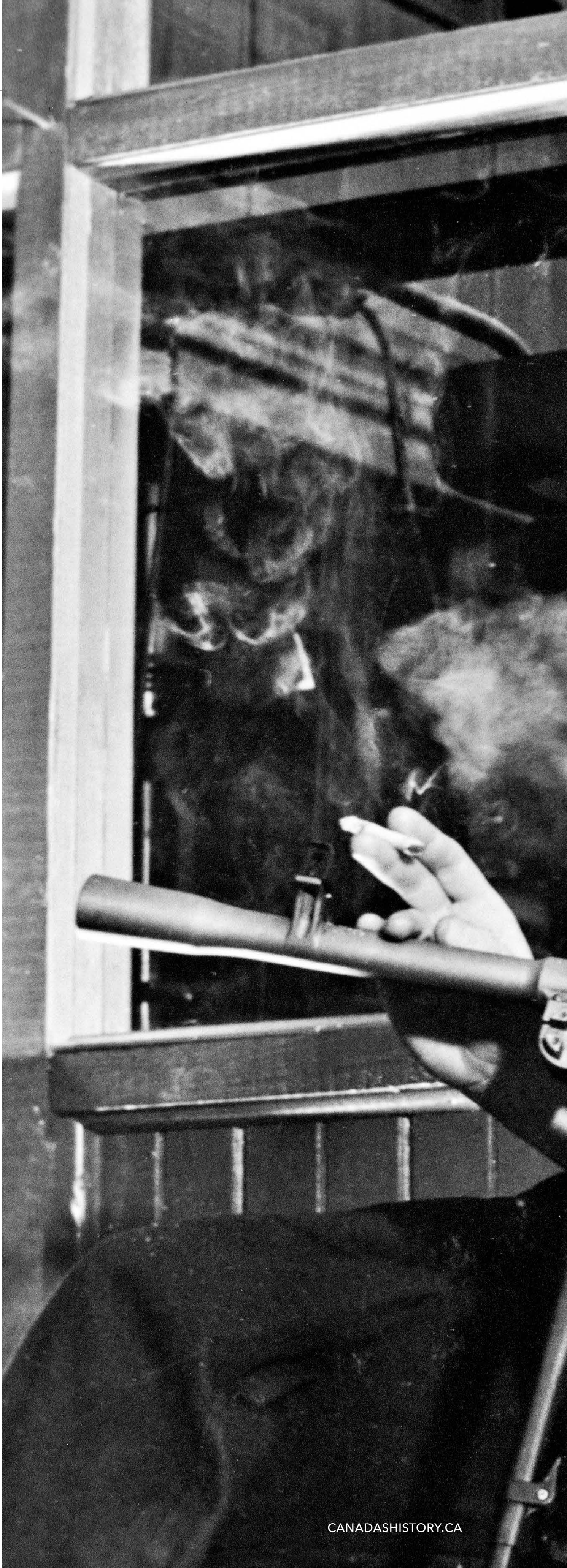


PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

The Bren Gun Girl

by Moriah Campbell

The Second World War ushered in many changes to the Canadian workforce. While men were crossing the Atlantic to serve their country, women were needed in the factories to fill the spaces they had left behind.

And so the Canadian government, together with the National Film Board of Canada, found a face that would rally millions of women into factories.

Veronica Foster worked for John Inglis Co. in Toronto, assembling Bren light machine guns. Her natural beauty made her the perfect model for the national propaganda poster campaign, and she became "Ronnie the Bren Gun Girl."

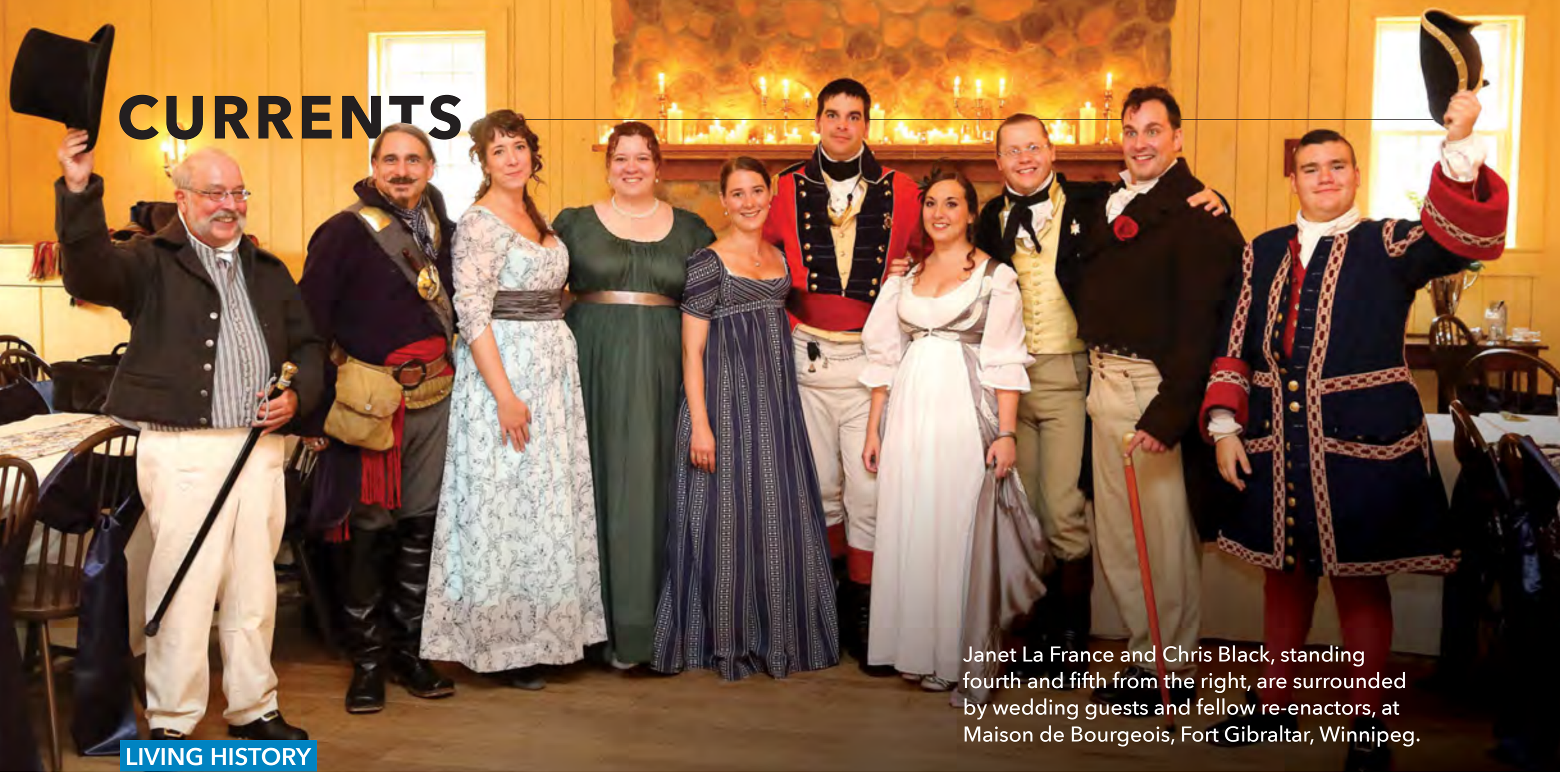
In her most famous photograph, Ronnie sports curve-hugging overalls while effortlessly exhaling smoke from her cigarette as she admires her recently assembled Bren gun.

As the perfect blend of femininity and female liberation, Ronnie became the subject of public infatuation, so much so that the United States decided to create its own female war icon. And so Ronnie's head scarf and can-do attitude was transferred to the well-known American propaganda image of "Rosie the Riveter."

Along with the famous cigarette-and-gun photo, the campaign highlighted pictures of Ronnie playing baseball, doing the jitterbug, and touching up her hat in a mirror. These photos sent a distinct message to women that they could have it all.

Sadly, the new-found independence of women was short-lived. Following the end of the war and the return of the men serving overseas, most working women were forced back to their traditional pink-collar jobs.

Today, Ronnie the Bren Gun Girl represents an iconic moment in the ongoing fight for women's equality in Canada.



Janet La France and Chris Black, standing fourth and fifth from the right, are surrounded by wedding guests and fellow re-enactors, at Maison de Bourgeois, Fort Gibraltar, Winnipeg.

SANDY BLACK

LIVING HISTORY

Married to the past

History-themed weddings are increasingly popular across Canada. *by Moriah Campbell*

Weddings today are commonly associated with sleek white dresses, champagne flutes, and fine dining. But more and more couples are choosing to celebrate their special days by turning back time.

On July 13, 2014, Janet La France and Chris Black celebrated their nuptials as if it were 1815. The wedding guests awaited the bride's grand entrance in the oldest standing structure in Winnipeg: the former Grey Nuns convent and chapel.

The idea to have a historical wedding grew out of the couple's shared love for the art of historical re-enactment. More than ten years ago, La France and Black met at a re-enactment event, and ever since the couple has partaken in re-enactments across Canada and the United States.

"It's been a hobby of ours for quite some time, and it seemed like a good way to put our own spin on our wedding," La France said.

On the day of the wedding, La France walked down the aisle in a custom-made white cotton voile empire gown and a grey silk overdress inspired by paintings and original garments from the early 1800s.

Black waited for her at the altar in an outfit from his pre-existing re-enactment wardrobe. His dark blue tailcoat and grey silk waistcoat complimented his fitted fall-front trousers quite nicely, and he added a beaver-felt top hat for some style.

Black, who changed outfits several times during the big day, said the outfits seem intricate by today's standards but were common for typical citizens of 1815.

"In this time period, people would have just worn their Sunday best to get married," La France said.

As they said, "I do," the couple was surrounded by eighty of their closest friends and family members. The groomsmen, who were fellow re-enactors, wore regency-era outfits, and the bridesmaids wore dark blue empire gowns handmade by the groom. The officiant stood out from the wedding party, as he was styling 1730s-era garb. The wedding invitations read, "costumes encouraged but not required."

"Some of our guests did go all-out and found a seamstress to make them an outfit. It was really nice to have them there blending in with us," La France said.

Afterwards, the newlyweds and their guests enjoyed a reception at Fort Gibraltar, a Winnipeg historic site that replicates a North West Company fort circa 1815.

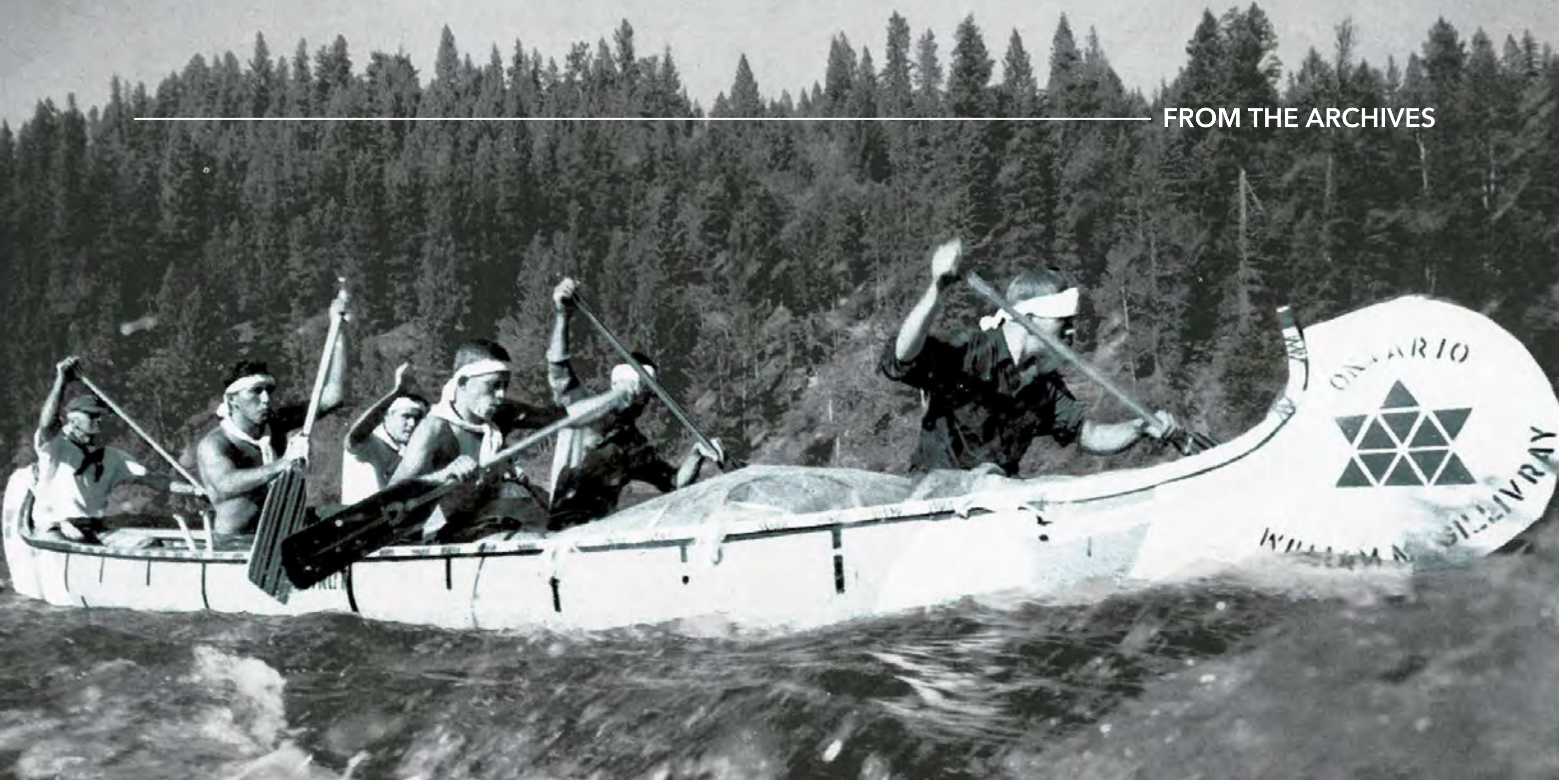
As guests sipped tea and ate scones, a pianist and fiddler played music of the time period.

The couple made their own table runners with historic fabric and used their antique silverware as decoration. They even served a traditional nineteenth-century drink called syllabub that combines heavy cream, lemon, and wine.

Across the country, Parks Canada's National Historic Sites are popular locations for weddings. The most sought-after sites include the Bar U Ranch in southern Alberta; Batoche in Saskatchewan; Manoir-Papineau in Quebec; and the Halifax Citadel in Nova Scotia.

Aside from being a tailor of historical clothing, Black has interpreted both nationally and internationally since 1997. He volunteers regularly at Fort Gibraltar, where he portrays a North West Company partner of 1815.

La France has been re-enacting throughout North America for more than a decade and works as a genealogist at Le Musée de Saint-Boniface in Winnipeg.



Paddling into our past

The magazine you're reading was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) ninety-seven years ago as *The Beaver* and is now titled *Canada's History*. It's the country's second-oldest continuously published magazine, and you can now browse through most of that history thanks to our new online archive of past issues.

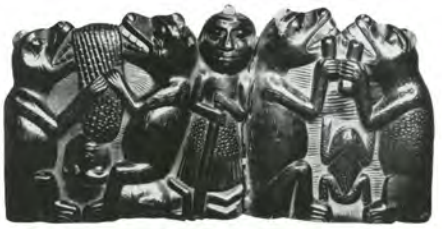
For instance, in Canada's centennial year *The Beaver* — then still published by HBC as a "Magazine of the North" — paid relatively little attention to the fact that Canada was turning one hundred years old. (Perhaps the country seemed a relative newcomer compared to the company's own 297-year history?)

One article in the Summer 1967 issue told of the launch of a "Centennial Canoe Pageant," in which teams representing ten of the provinces and territories planned to paddle and portage some 5,283 kilometres from Rocky Mountain House, Alberta, to the Expo 67 site in Montreal. Each canoe bore the name of a significant Canadian explorer, such as David Thompson, Henry Kelsey, and Pierre La Vérendrye.

The Beaver regularly told about the lives of the Indigenous peoples of Canada, including their material arts. In the same issue, RCMP Corporal Robert W. Hobson wrote about the intricate argillite carvings made in Haida communities of British Columbia's Queen Charlotte Islands. Meanwhile, the cover story by HBC archivist Alice M. Johnson was about "James Bay Artist William Richards."

"Knights of the Waterways" told of voyageurs who for centuries paddled their canoes starting in the direction opposite to the centennial paddlers: "from Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers into what they called *le pays d'en haut*, singing as they went their incomparable ballads and other *chansons*, laughing down whitewater for the sheer delight of its danger and exhilaration." Without their efforts, author Grace Lee Nute said, "the fur trade could hardly have been carried on." — *Phil Koch*

The Beaver
The Beaver
SUMMER 1967
The Beaver



Top: The Ontario team prepares for the centennial canoe pageant in 1967. Their canoe bears the name of explorer William McGillivray. Middle: Copies of *The Beaver* from 1967, including the Summer issue (centre). Above: An argillite carving by Haida carver Charlie Edenshaw (1839–1924) portrays the story of a young woman who lived with grizzlies.

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Visit CanadasHistory.ca/Archive to read 90-plus years of stories.

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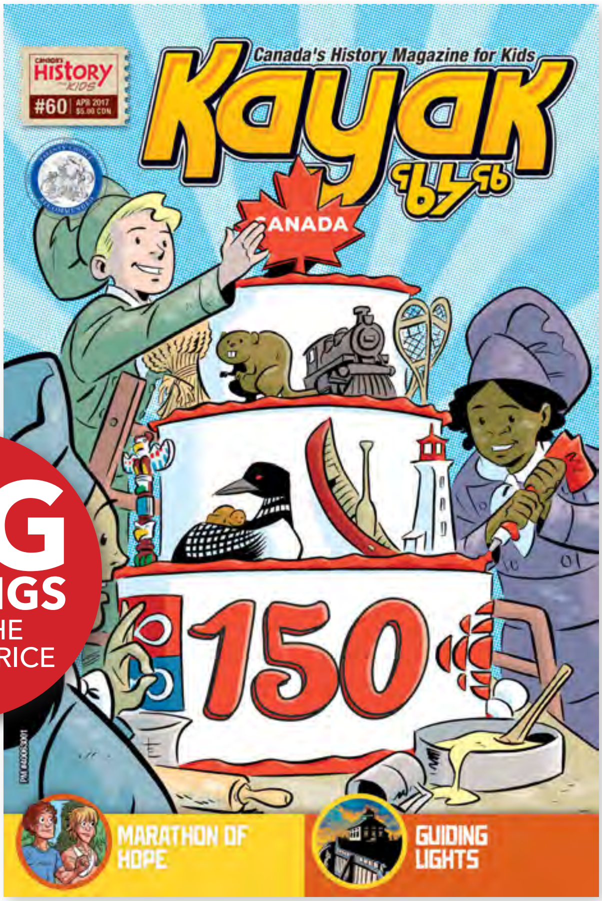
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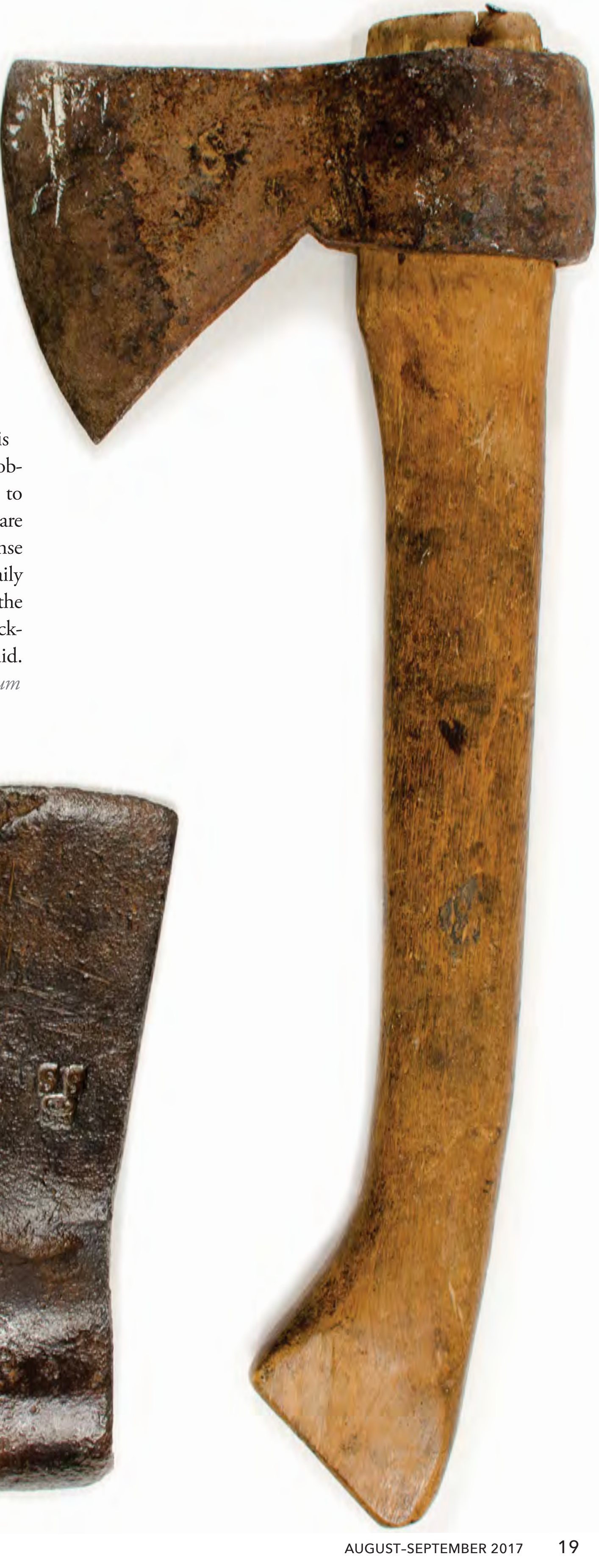
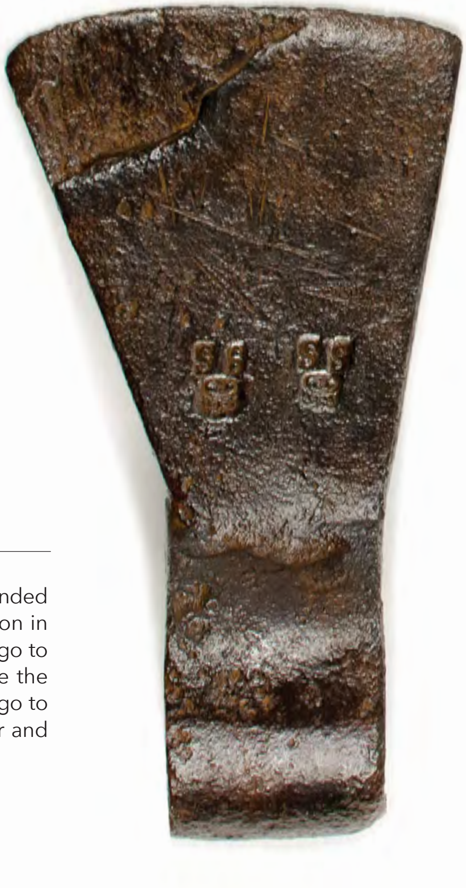
Trade axes

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

Trade axes were an important and highly prized trade good throughout the fur trade era. The axe head pictured below dates to the early nineteenth century and includes the maker's mark of Robert Sorbey of England on the bit (the blade), while the eye (the hole for the handle) is fairly round. The complete early twentieth-century axe on the right shows a true Hudson Bay pattern, a style made by many companies and which is characterized by the relatively flat top edge and a teardrop-shaped eye. The shape of the eye is important, as the earliest trade axes had round eyes that were problematic for keeping the axe head secured to the handle. The shift to a teardrop-shaped eye — along with the creation of a thicker, square poll (the butt end of the axe head) — was likely made in response to the Indigenous and settler customers who used them on a daily basis. If you ever come across an axe head with HBC stamped on the bit, be suspicious! The HBC never marked its axes. But the blacksmiths who made them — including Robert Sorbey — often did.

— Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

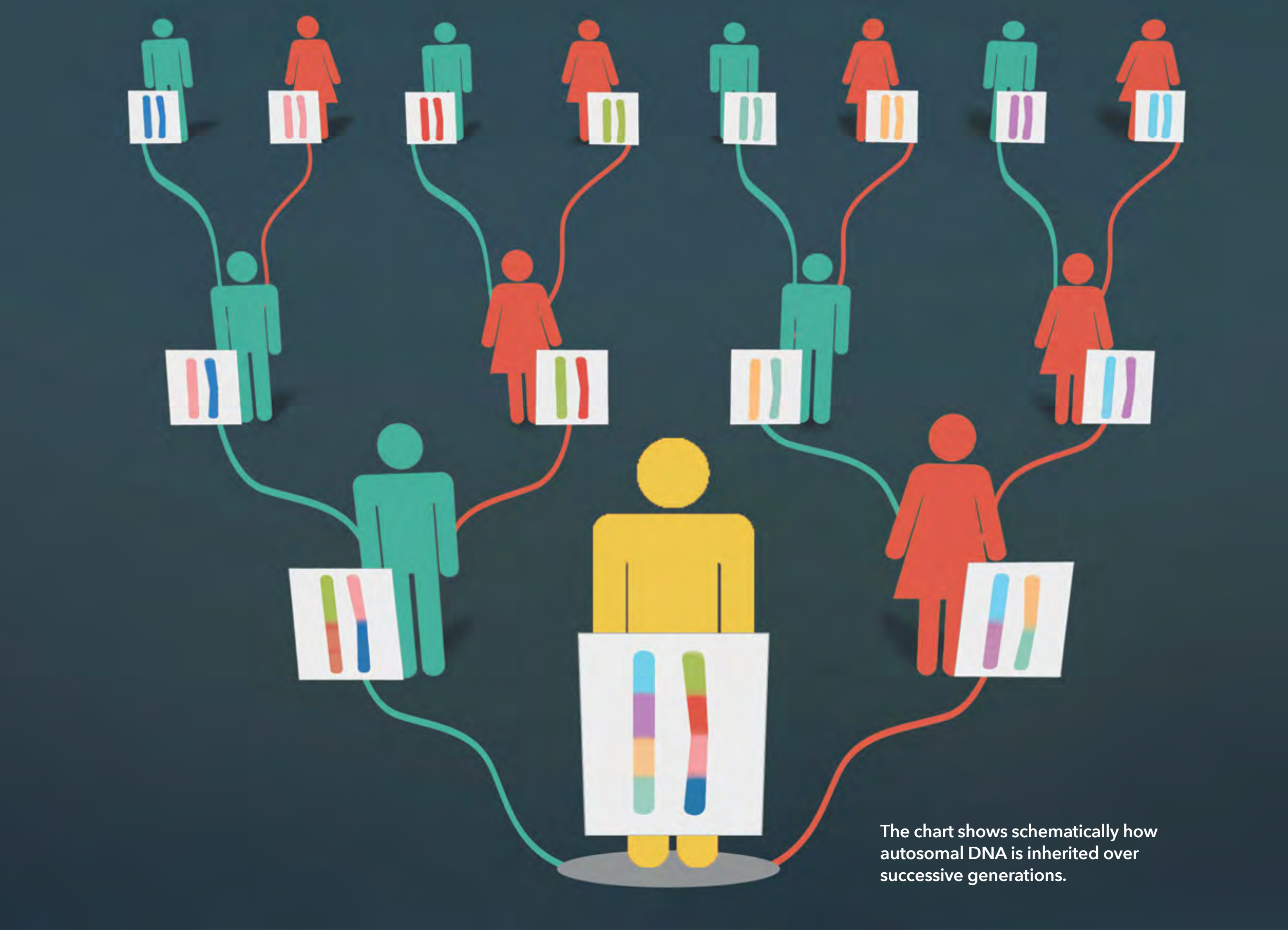




HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 005-106 AND HBC 44-13) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN



The chart shows schematically how autosomal DNA is inherited over successive generations.

Cellular sleuthing

Using DNA to test conjectures about your family history.

My friend Elizabeth, an adoptee, had good reason to believe that her biological father was Leslie Elmwood, an Englishman who had died in the 1990s. Information about his life corresponded in every way to the snippets of truth, half-truths, and faded memory Elizabeth had gleaned from Ivy, her taciturn biological mother. A decorated nursing officer, Ivy served in the renowned Burma Campaign during the latter years of the Second World War. That's where Elizabeth had been conceived in 1945.

However, shortly after autosomal DNA testing first became affordably available to the general public about seven years ago, Elizabeth quickly established that she bore no genetic relationship to Leslie's surviving brother. In an earlier era, Elizabeth might have continued indefinitely in the mistaken belief that Leslie Elmwood was her biological father. It's no wonder that relevant genetic evidence is now expected to be part of any genealogical research project worthy of the name.

Autosomal DNA (atDNA) is the genetic material contained in your twenty-two non-sex chromosomes (that is, excluding the X and Y chromosomes). You inherit fifty per cent of atDNA from each parent, but, due to the randomness of recombination in subsequent generations, you receive only an average of twenty-five per cent from each grandparent, 12.5 per cent from each great-grandparent, and so forth. Testing companies examine hundreds of thousands of locations on these twenty-two chromosomes in order to compare your DNA with that of others who have been tested. When a match between two people is found, statistical algorithms calculate the likely degree of relationship, such as full sibling, aunt or uncle, or second cousin.

On average, a putative uncle (such as Leslie's brother) and niece (Elizabeth) should expect to share twenty-five per cent of their atDNA. The absence of any genetic relationship whatsoever cast grave doubts on the hypothesis that Elizabeth was the biological daughter of Leslie. Don't cry for Elizabeth, though. The telling of her story has barely begun.

There are two uses for DNA tests: to assess existing hypotheses and to gather information that may generate fresh hypotheses. Elizabeth's use of atDNA to confirm or deny her paternity was an example of hypothesis-checking in that she compared the DNA of people conjectured to be genetically related. If they had matched, the hypothesis would have gained credibility. When they didn't match, Elizabeth needed a new hypothesis in her quest for her biological father.

Let's take a look at further examples of hypothesis-testing with atDNA.

Consider my friend Joy and her mysterious grandfather Moses Levine. He died in Alberta in the 1940s, but his origins were always unclear. Family lore and credible records both affirmed that, as a young man in the 1880s, he had made his home in the Dakota Territory of the United States. U.S. censuses of the time identified him as having French-Canadian heritage, but no record of him as a child or youth could be found in Canadian censuses or in Quebec parish records.

The breakthrough came when a young Moses Lavine of French-Canadian parentage was located in the 1870 and 1880 U.S. censuses — a resident of upstate New York, living just a few kilometres from the Canadian border. This New York Moses disappeared from the documentary record after 1880, just in time for the appearance of Dakota Moses. Were they the same person?

Autosomal DNA testing to the rescue! In Joy we had a direct descendant of Dakota Moses. If we could find a living person known to be genetically related to New York Moses, we could then use atDNA testing to see if there was any biological connection between the two lines. After several false starts, we eventually identified Gloria, a living great-granddaughter of the youngest sister of New York Moses. Fortunately, Gloria set aside her misgivings and agreed to take an atDNA test. After a suspense-filled wait for the findings, the testing company revealed that Gloria and Joy share DNA in an amount expected of second or third cousins. Bull's eye! According to our conjectured family tree, Gloria and Joy are in fact second cousins once removed, genetically halfway between second and third cousins.

Contrary to popular belief, DNA results do not provide absolute proof of our hypotheses. In Elizabeth's case, there was another possible, albeit improbable, explanation for the finding — an unknown adoption of either Leslie or his brother. In Joy's case, perhaps New York Moses and Dakota Moses were simply first cousins and not the same person. Or maybe, unbeknownst to Joy and to Gloria, they share a family connection on another line entirely. That would be quite a coincidence, but stranger things have happened.

Do we seriously believe such alternate hypotheses? No. The philosophical principle of Occam's razor tells us to favour the simplest explanations, and the documentary record provides no support for hypotheses other than the front-runners. But if new evidence were to emerge, DNA findings could be explained in different ways. This is why DNA analysis supplements but does not replace the traditional contents of the genealogist's tool kit.

> **Elizabeth researched and constructed family trees for several dozen of the men who seemed most likely to have met her mother.**

So how did Elizabeth find her real birth father? It's a story that deserves a book, not a couple of hundred words. Here's the gist: Noticing that she — unlike her maternal half-siblings — had a large number of atDNA matches from the southern U.S., Elizabeth hypothesized that her biological father had a genetic connection to the area. She compiled a candidate database of roughly three hundred American servicemen, mostly pilots and ambulance drivers, whose stationing in the spring of 1945 might have brought them into contact with her mother. Elizabeth researched and constructed family trees for several dozen of the men who seemed most likely to have met her mother — especially men from the Amerian South. At the same time, she compiled a surname list from the supplied family trees of her atDNA matches, in particular those names that seemed to be from her paternal side. Elizabeth then compared the ancestral surnames of each candidate serviceman with the surnames on the list. After untold hours of work, Elizabeth identified a U.S. pilot who had surnames on both his paternal and maternal sides that corresponded to names on Elizabeth's list.

Regrettably, this man had died in the 1990s, but two daughters were alive and well in Florida. To settle the matter beyond any reasonable doubt, Elizabeth persuaded the daughters to undergo atDNA testing. Both were assessed to be half-siblings to Elizabeth. Game, set, and match!

Most DNA projects are not this complicated. (If they were, genetic genealogy would not be as popular as it has become.) Yet it's not simply a matter, as many seem to think, of doing the test and receiving a report with your ancestry back to the Middle Ages. Yes, you do get a report, but interpreting and using it require knowledge and effort. That's what we'll look at next time. We'll consider the challenges faced by people without specific hypotheses to test but who are curious about what atDNA can say about their ancestry. How do you use that daunting report to generate fresh information and hypotheses about your heritage?

Paul Jones, a former publisher, is a writer, a consultant, and an avid genealogical researcher and volunteer. Note: Some names have been changed at the request of those who have generously allowed their stories to be told.

ILLUSTRATION BY BETH GILLESPIE

WORKING LIKE A BEAVER

CANADA'S NATIONAL ANIMAL GAVE EUROPEANS MORE THAN HATS. THE BEAVER'S LEGENDARY INDUSTRIOUSNESS WAS PRESENTED AS THE BASIS FOR AN IDEAL SOCIETY.

BY RACHEL POLIQUIN

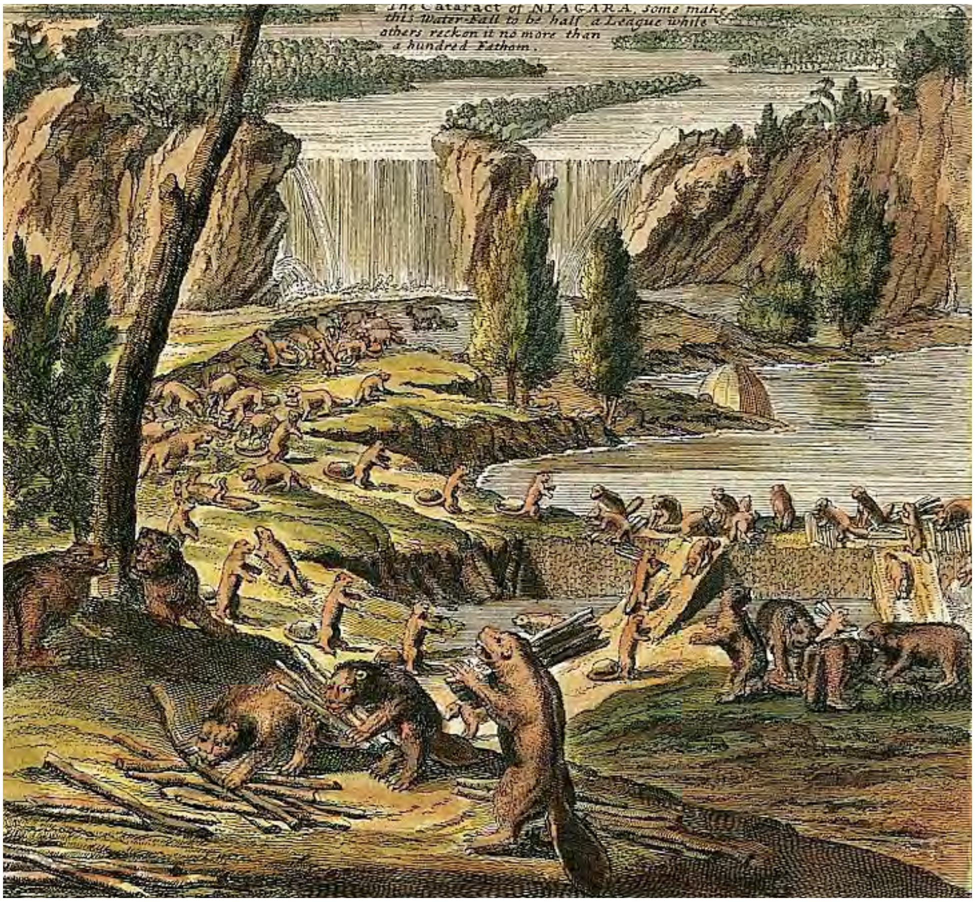
Nicolas de Fer's wall map of the Americas, printed in Paris in 1698, depicts a rare and wondrous scene. In the top left corner, no less than fifty-two beavers have gathered to build a colossal dam at the foot of Niagara Falls. A few gnaw at a tree, as real beavers do. But most walk upright like an army of automatons, some carrying lumber on their shoulders, others dragging mortar on their tails. And one has collapsed, exhausted.

Each animal is labelled with a letter keyed to a legend. There are lumberjacks, carpenters, and bearers of wood. There is also an architect who directs a group of beavers making mortar, which other beavers thump firm on the dam with their tails. One miserable beaver has fallen over on its back with "a disabled tail from having worked too hard." Two neighbours are approaching, but apparently not with concern. Rather they are "Inspectors of the Disabled," presumably tasked with weeding out lazy beavers from those with genuine complaints and forcing the indolent to work.

De Fer's beaver vignette is eccentric, to say the least, but such animal fables were not uncommon. Plenty of oddly romantic tales had swirled around most animals since ancient times. For example, it was long believed by many that chameleons lived on air alone, that badgers had legs shorter on one side of their body than the other, and that all hares were hermaphrodites.

While most such fables and fantasies fell by the wayside as naturalists began to take a more serious look at nature, the myth of North America's beaver labour camps coincides with the beginning of modern science. The fiction was related as fact by some of the Enlightenment's most illustrious thinkers, including the great George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, whose sprawling thirty-six volume *Histoire naturelle* became the encyclopedic reference for all animal knowledge well into the nineteenth century. The idea that, somewhere in the wooded wilderness of the New World, hundreds of beavers, beladen with logs and mud, were flogging themselves into action was too fantastic not to be taken seriously.

Most Canadians know beavers as the humble rodents on our five-cent coin. Humpbacked and portly, with an earnest and honest charm, beavers epitomize the Canadian spirit of unpretentiousness, integrity, and industriousness. But the hard-working beaver is not quite what it seems.


The Cataract of NIAGARA. Some make this Water-Fall to be half a League while others reckon it no more than a hundred Fathom.

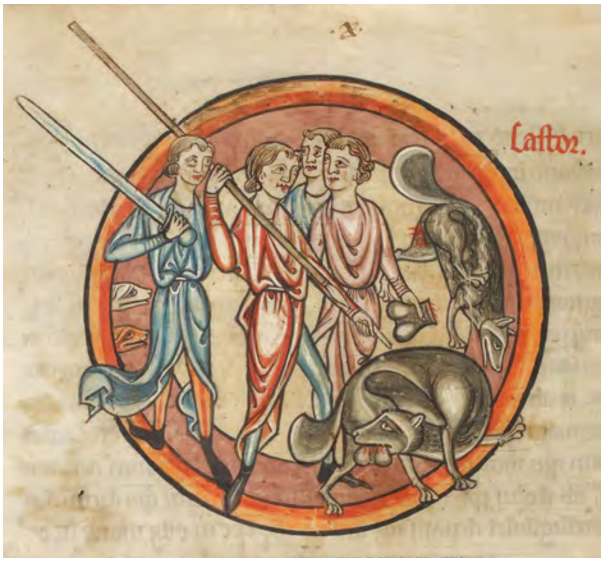
This illustration by Herman Moll is an inset from a map entitled *A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain on ye Continent of North America*, 1715. The beaver scene at Niagara Falls was copied from Nicolas de Fer's earlier 1698 map. Note, on the left side of the picture, the exhausted beaver who has fallen on his back.

An inscription on Moll's map describes the scene: "A view of the industry of beavers of Canada in making dams to stop the course of a rivulet in order to form a great lake, about which they build their habitations. To effect this, they fell large trees with their teeth ... they finish the whole with great order."

LEFT: FLICKR/STEVEHDC. RIGHT: COURTESY OF RACHEL POLIQUIN

It's not that beavers are lazy animals; beavers certainly do work hard, and evidence of their labours is wildly impressive. Beaver dams usually range from ten to one hundred metres long, but over generations beavers can build magnificent structures. The current record holder, located in Wood Buffalo National Park, which straddles the Alberta-Northwest Territories border, is an astonishing eight hundred and fifty metres long, and it's still under construction. Beavers also diligently store enough food to survive the coldest winters, which puts them in the fabled league of the ever-industrious ant. But for the millennia that humans and beavers coexisted, no one ever remarked on the beaver's work ethic until Europeans arrived in North America.

Beavers are found throughout North American First Nations' mythology as skilled builders, healers, and earth-makers, but no myths suggest beavers as being any more hard-working than coyotes or porcupines. Eurasian beavers also have a long and storied history in European folklore, but they were known for something altogether different than busyness.



A beaver castrates itself in this thirteenth-century manuscript.

Ancient physicians believed the beavers' malodorous scent organs (known as castor sacs) contained a potent medicine, and because castor sacs look remarkably like testicles they assumed they were testicles. And so, according to animal lore, the beaver, when cornered by a hunter, and knowing the value of his medicine, would bite off his testicles and escape with his life. Aesop's fable seems to be the oldest version of the tale, and the ancient Greek fabulist ensured it would be repeated for centuries by wringing out a pithy moral: "If only people would take the same approach and agree to be deprived of their possessions in order to live lives free from danger; no one, after all, would set a trap for someone already stripped to the skin." Early Christian moralists delighted in the fable, praising beavers as models of chastity, austerity, and prudence. But hard work was never part of the Eurasian beaver's repertoire.

Eurasian beavers once spread from Great Britain to Mongolia and from northern Finland to the Turkish coast of the Black Sea. But from the Middle Ages onwards their numbers were in sad decline. They were killed for their musk organs. Their fish-like tails were eaten by the piously abstemious during Lenten fasts. They were hunted for their fur until there was hardly a beaver left.

And so, when Europeans arrived in North America, they likely had never seen a beaver. When they witnessed the animals' astonishing dams, explorers were madly impressed with the architectural rodents. They invented a tale of such wonder and charisma that it endures to this day in diluted form. And, perhaps even more bizarre than the story of the hundred-strong beaver workforce, is its persistence for centuries, through various revisions and political retellings. From the forced labour camps of New France, the beaver's legendary industry was born.

De Fer's vignette was inspired by the writings of Nicolas Denys, a seventeenth-century French aristocrat turned New World officer and politician. According to Denys, as many as four hundred beavers gathered, and each had their appointed tasks. Some chewed down trees. Others gnawed logs into stakes. The oldest beavers with the largest tails used them to carry dirt. Just as de Fer illustrated, there were beaver masons, beaver carpenters, ditch diggers, log carriers, and ever-vigilant beaver foremen who ensured a high standard of construction. If any beavers were lazy or neglectful, the foreman "chastises them, beats them, throws himself on them, and bites them to keep them at their duty," Denys explained.

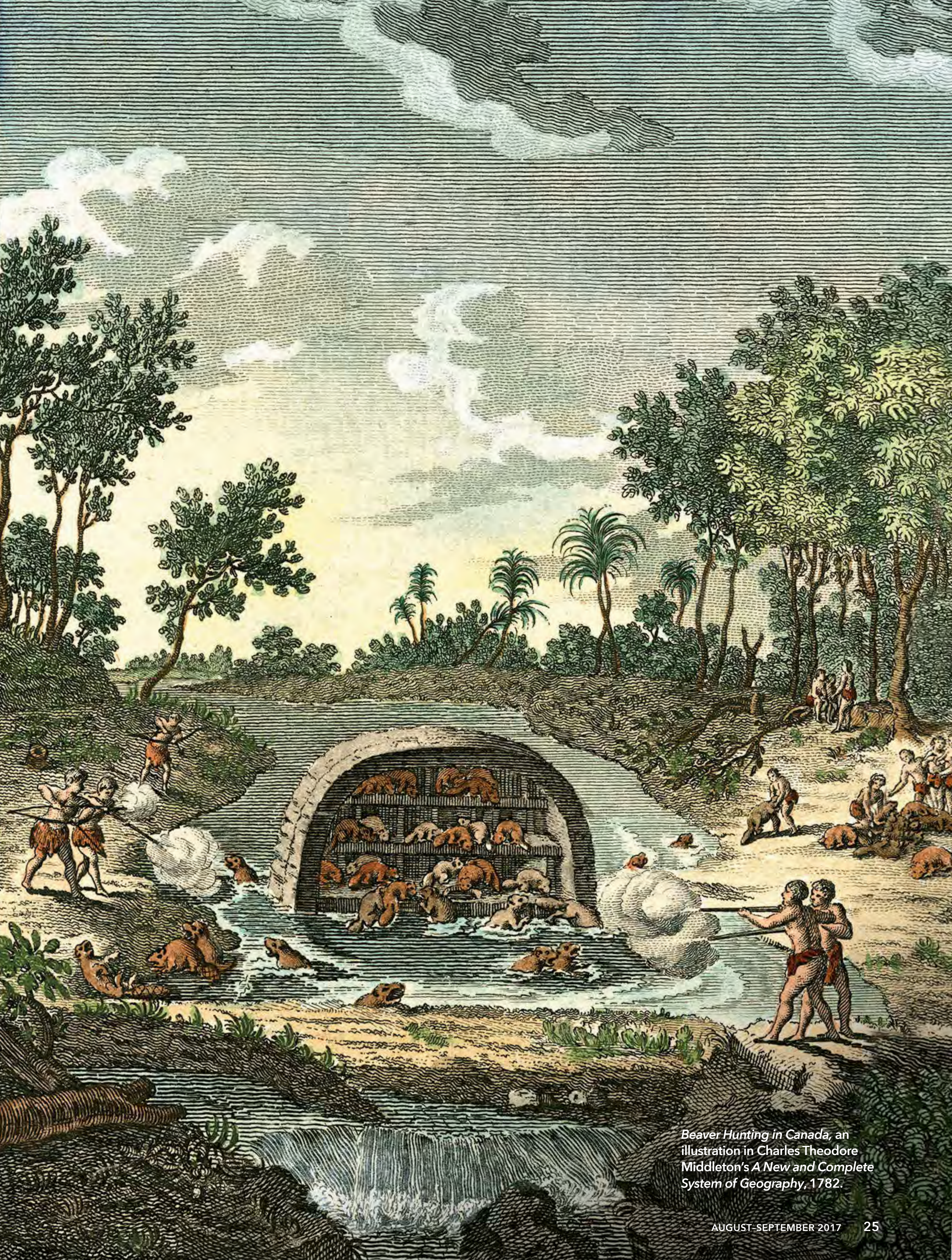
Beavers were capable of hard work, but they were not really models of industriousness. They needed an enforcer to keep them in line. After all, this was the seventeenth century, and whipping grunt labour into action was an accepted and expected method of building great public works. Animal fables have a way of making certain behaviours seem natural and inherently good, even self-castration, even autocratic regimes. For Denys, authoritarian beavers offered a parable of a righteous society.

Denys published his natural history of Acadia in Paris in 1672, although he wrote most of it in the New World, perhaps in Nepisiquit (in present-day New Brunswick), one of the many settlements he founded. Denys spent more than three decades of his life in Acadia, first arriving in 1632 and dying in Nepisiquit in 1688. He likely had seen a beaver, if only a dead one, and at the very least he had encountered their phenomenal feats of hydraulic engineering. (Denys actually suggested that most lakes and ponds in New France had been made by beavers.) Struggling to understand how such extraordinary constructions were possible, Denys offered an equally extraordinary explanation: hundreds of beavers labouring united.

The idea of animals toiling for the common good was seductive, but it required one more imaginative leap of logic to become the perfect political allegory. Surely four hundred beavers required some sort of order or chain of command to design and build enormous communal dams. Four hundred humans certainly would. So what political structure did beavers prefer?

Bacqueville de la Potherie, an eighteenth-century chronicler of New France, suggested that beavers were ruled by a patriarch: "His house is so admirable that one can recognize in him the authority

LEFT: BRITISH LIBRARY; RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA



Beaver Hunting in Canada, an illustration in Charles Theodore Middleton's *A New and Complete System of Geography*, 1782.

of an absolute master, the true character of the family father and the genius of a skilled architect." A surgeon-explorer known only by the surname Dièreville suggested that beavers were governed by an aristocracy. In Dièreville's version, beavers didn't require foremen, as every beaver gladly assaulted a lazy neighbour: "Justice is everything among beavers."

In fact, most writers agreed that beavers were authoritarians. Lazy or vagabond beavers were variously beaten, brought to heel, or banished. Their fur was stripped from their back as a mark of infamy, and they were forced to live in holes by themselves, in disgrace.

Building beavers were never just beavers who built. The myth's appeal was in its social resonance. Whether they laboured willingly or not, beavers were wonderfully malleable actors for thinking about human social relations, at least for those in control.

The historian Gordon Sayre, for example, has suggested that beavers offered a corrective to the ever-looming possibility of colonial anarchy. Throughout New France land tenure was essentially feudal. Large parcels known as seigneuries were granted to military officers, nobles, and clergy, who rented smaller plots to tenants, known as habitants. The habitants cleared the land and built their homes, but it was the seigneurs who took on the investment of building a mill or road. In 1671, the first Acadian census counted 392 people, a few less than Denys' four hundred-strong beaver labour force (and less than the 484 cows and 524 sheep also reported). With a beaver gulag as its moral guide, a society based on civil obedience and subordination might achieve magnificent, awe-inspiring works in this new-found world.

ENDOWED WITH AN EVER-WILLING, EVER-READY WORK ETHIC, BEAVERS WILL FOREVER BE SYNONYMOUS WITH BUSYNESS AND WITH CANADA.

Outcast beavers also offered a moral lesson for habitants who were tempted to go primitive and become coureurs de bois. Venturing into the wilderness to seek their fortune in furs, coureurs de bois were naturally vilified by the ruling classes and by bourgeois fur merchants. Living like vagabond beavers, they refused the duties of society and acquired a taste for wandering and its associated vices. Repent now, the fable almost warns, lest you end up in a dark and dirty hole with no coat on your back.

But it was François-René Chateaubriand, the father of French Romanticism and namesake of the chateaubriand steak, who transformed the political allegory into a gloriously absurd fantasy. Escaping the violence of the French Revolution and fleeing to New France in 1791, Chateaubriand claimed to have witnessed a village of palatial beaver lodges, a veritable "Venice of the wilderness," as he called it. Lodges were five storeys tall, with domed, artfully stuccoed vestibules. Beaver society was equally cultured — they ate their meals together, were fastidiously clean, and had an elected government. But beavers, like humans, were hot-blooded animals and often clashed with neighbouring tribes or muskrats. If a beaver was caught marauding on another tribe's territory, he was brought before the chief and beaten. For a second offence, his tail was cut off. Sometimes disputes were settled by a duel between chiefs or a combat of thirty against thirty. The battles were always vicious and to the death.

Chateaubriand also noted that "the beaver lives chastely with a single female; he is jealous and sometimes kills his mate, if she has been guilty of infidelity, or he suspects her of it." The detail, unique to Chateaubriand, is especially odd considering he was a notorious philanderer.

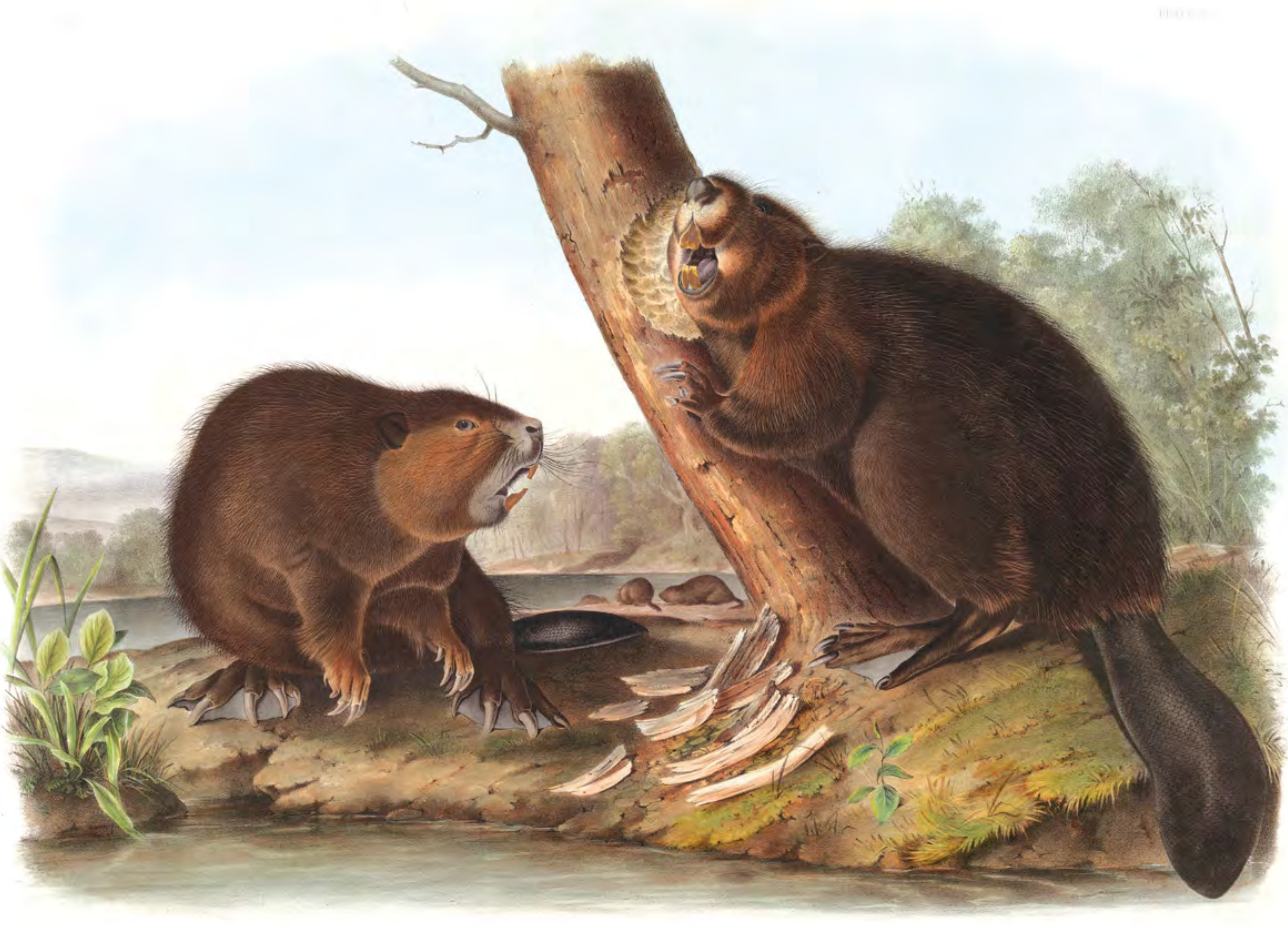
The eighteenth century was a time of political upheaval and societal reform, especially in France, and French writers had a particular affinity for beaver tales. The society of building beavers raised all the right questions for Enlightenment thinkers. How might society achieve its greatest good and happiness? Was a monarchy or an authoritarian regime really the only way forward? Or might an egalitarian society achieve even greater success?

The wandering, erstwhile officer and nobleman Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, claimed beavers had achieved utopia. In his account of his travels in North America, which were published in 1703, Lahontan described beavers as living a good, happy, gentle, and egalitarian existence with peace and harmony as their primary goals. Beavers even had a sort of intelligible jargon of "bemoaning inarticulate sounds" by which they communally agreed on what needed to be done to maintain their lodges, dams, lakes, and the peaceable order of their republic, he claimed.

Lahontan is a fascinating character in the early history of Canada. With the death of his father, he came to his title in 1674 at the young age of eight. He joined the military at seventeen and arrived in the New World in 1683. He spent a decade in New France, exploring the region and learning the languages and cultures of neighbouring First Nations before deserting the army in 1692. Unable to return to France and having lost his inheritance, Lahontan went to Amsterdam, where he published his works including his final and most famous, *Supplement aux Voyages ou Dialogues avec le Sauvage Adario.*

Based around an imaginary dialogue between himself and a Huron chief named Adario, *Supplement aux Voyages* contrasted the political corruption, religious persecution, and social inequality he saw ravaging the Old World with the freedoms and justice of North America's Indigenous nations. His idealized view of humans living in a pure and natural state offered an early expression of the Enlightenment trope of the "noble savage." Although Lahontan never makes the link explicit, there is much to compare between the utopian societies of Adario and those of North American beavers. In Lahontan's eyes, beavers and humans shared equally in the bliss of the New World.

Half a century later, the great French naturalist Georges-Louis



American Beaver by John James Audubon, 1844.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Leclerc, Comte du Buffon, agreed. In the eighth volume of his *Histoire naturelle*, printed in 1760, Buffon claimed that what made North American beavers exceptional was their conviviality. No matter how many workers arrived, peace and good order reigned. Beaver dams were "the fruits of a perfected society," and beavers were the perfect citizens.

As a man who lived through the politics and bloodshed of eighteenth-century France, Buffon was no stranger to the violence of authoritarian regimes, or to utopian rhetoric. Perhaps Buffon was thinking of his fellow French citizens when he contemplated the wretched state of French beavers. Hunted into near extinction, the beavers of the Rhone Valley were "dispersed, forlorn, and timid creatures. There they have never been known to assemble or undertake any common work." Like men under a despotic government, their spirit had been broken and their talents extinguished by terror. In the peace and plenty of the New World, beavers offered hope for a better future.

But even the utopian tales of Lahontan and Buffon had a dark underbelly. At the very same moment when beavers were being praised for their civility, tens of millions of beavers were being slaughtered to make hats. Early Canada, after all, was built by the fur trade, which is to say, Canada quite literally was built on the back of the beaver. Surprisingly or not, most writers discussed beavers as model citizens and as commodities almost within the same breath. The beaver's demise was just accepted as the inevitable result of human progress. Even Buffon suggested that European advancement had squelched the natural genius of their continent's native animals.

The fable of the industrious beaver took a final turn in North American literature. Beavers — this time real beavers building their dams in nuclear families, as beavers actually do — were an obvious symbol for a young nation. By simply living their lives and doing what came naturally, beavers embodied democratic values of industry, prudence, and civic responsibility. Beavers built solid homes for their families. They had the foresight to store food during the summer months. They diligently extracted every goodness nature had to give, which naturally dovetailed with the political belief that industrious homesteaders would guarantee the health and happiness of the nation.

Endowed with an ever-willing, ever-ready work ethic, beavers will forever be synonymous with busyness and with Canada, but for oddly incompatible reasons. Beavers are busy because they build magnificent dams, and beavers are Canada because their deaths fuelled the nation's fortune. And so, perhaps the last word of advice should come from the society of building beavers: Labour not so industriously that you fail to see your greatest admirer is also your most deadly foe.

GRENFELL MISSION

HEROINES

Nurses working in the isolated outports of Newfoundland, Labrador, and Quebec did it all. They pulled teeth, sewed up wounds, saved animals, and delivered many, many babies.

BY HEIDI COOMBS-THORNE

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

DR. CHARLES CURTIS did not hold back on his praise for nurse Ethel Currant: "No matter how weary and exhausted Miss Currant was, she never failed to answer a call for help," Curtis wrote in an article published in *Among the Deep Sea Fishers* in 1945. "Last October she was called to an obstetrical case twenty miles from her station. When she arrived she realized that she was up against a very serious case…."

Curtis went on to describe how Currant put the patient in a boat in heavy seas and had her taken to the nursing station at Flower's Cove, a hamlet near the tip of Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula: "With the help of a very efficient local woman, Miss Currant was able to do an operative delivery and save the life of mother and baby."

Curtis, the medical superintendent of the International Grenfell Association, understood better than most how important nurses such as Currant were to meeting the medical needs of people in isolated coastal communities of northern Newfoundland, Labrador, and Quebec's Lower North Shore. In *Among the Deep Sea Fishers*, the official publication of the association, he referred to them as the "backbone" of the Grenfell Mission, a philanthropic medical organization established in 1892 by British physician Sir Wilfred Grenfell.

Before Grenfell arrived, the Newfoundland government occasionally sent a doctor up the Labrador coast on a mail boat or sealing vessel, and the Moravian Mission provided basic medical services to the Inuit in northern Labrador. But otherwise there were no hospital facilities, no resident doctors, no nurses, and no continuous medical care in this part of the country. When Grenfell undertook his first medical expedition in the region in 1892, travelling along the coast through "ice and snow and gale" on the hospital ship the *Albert*, he was appalled at what he found.

"They found whole settlements that had been wiped out by diphtheria," said an article in a 1903 issue of *Deep Sea Fishers*. "Wounds, no matter how frightful, were treated by squirting tobacco juice into them and binding tightly with an old rag. But even tobacco and rags were wanting in many places, for the *Albert* found settlements where the children were almost naked and had to live in the very back of the hovels to escape freezing to death."

A nurse stands by as Dr. Wilfred Grenfell examines a young patient being held by a woman, possibly also a nurse, at Harrington Harbour, Quebec, circa 1905 to 1915.

The medical missionary vowed to help "the unhappy souls that were imprisoned in ice for half the year, and cursed with privation and sickness always." He developed a network of regional hospitals and nursing stations staffed by highly qualified doctors and nurses from around the world. The first hospitals were built at Battle Harbour (1893) and Indian Harbour (1894), and by the 1960s the mission had expanded into the interior of Labrador. While much is known about Grenfell, who wrote several books about his larger-than-life exploits, the mission's nurses were every bit as heroic. They were relied upon to use their best judgments in dealing with medical emergencies — a responsibility they often carried out alone.

Ethel Currant was a typical Grenfell station nurse. She was British and was trained as a midwife. She was posted at the nursing station at Flower's Cove, a community not large enough to warrant a hospital. Officially, nursing stations fell under the authority of medical directors based out of the Grenfell hospitals. However, since the stations were separated from hospitals by vast expanses of ocean and/or rugged coastline, nurses like Currant exercised a significant amount of professional independence.

UNTIL THE 1940S, THERE WERE THREE MODES OF TRAVEL TO REACH PATIENTS: BY FOOT, BY BOAT, OR BY DOG TEAM. THE LATTER WAS THE NICEST, 'THOUGH IT HAS ITS THRILLS AND SPILLS.'

Independence suited her, as, like her counterparts, Currant had a keen sense of adventure. Before arriving in Newfoundland, she had nursed in India, Zululand (South Africa), Guatemala, and British Honduras. She spent five years at Flower's Cove, responding to constant calls.

"Although she was always on the move, travelling many miles on foot, by dog team in winter and by boat in summer, she still found time to develop and cultivate extensive and productive gardens and to preserve great quantities of food — fish products, vegetables, and berries, keeping her own station well supplied with very palatable food," Curtis wrote in 1946 as Currant was about to return to England.

Since they were the only medical personnel in the district, nurses on the stations had to become adept at assuming whatever role was necessary for the well-being of their patients and the smooth running of the station. The indefatigable Jean Smith reflected on her first couple of years with the Grenfell Mission, also at Flower's Cove, in an article in *Deep Sea Fishers* in 1947: "When I left England two years ago I little expected to have such a many-purpose job. The trained staff of one has a variety of duties to perform, among which are those of housekeeper, cook, farmer, butcher, gardener, painter, carpenter, general overseer and handyman, clothing-store-keeper, accountant, nursing and dentistry besides."

Smith was from a very able British family — her father, grandfather, and brother were all doctors. Smith herself was highly recommended by Grenfell medical alumni in Britain. In *Deep Sea Fishers*, Curtis praised her abilities: "The district is seventy miles long, including two thousand people, and is wholly dependent on this one nurse for medical assistance. During the 'flu' epidemic Miss Smith was called upon night and day to see sick people, sometimes thirty or forty miles away." Smith later took up posts at stations in North West River and Cartwright in Labrador and served for fifteen years before returning to England.

Travel, sometimes hazardous travel in what the locals called "dirty weather," was a standard part of nursing with the Grenfell Mission. The hospitals and stations covered large geographic districts with numerous outlying and sparsely populated communities. Until the 1940s, there were three modes of travel to reach patients: by foot, by boat, or by dog team. The latter was the nicest, "though it has its thrills and spills," Canadian nurse Ella Hewitt wrote in *Deep Sea Fishers*. Hewitt described one such trip: "The man on the flying trapeze had nothing on us as we sailed down [a steep] hill amidst racing, barking dogs and shouting men, anxious to reach the bottom right side up! I grasped the sides of the coach box and held my breath as we charged into the settlement at the foot. … It was a most thrilling trip!"

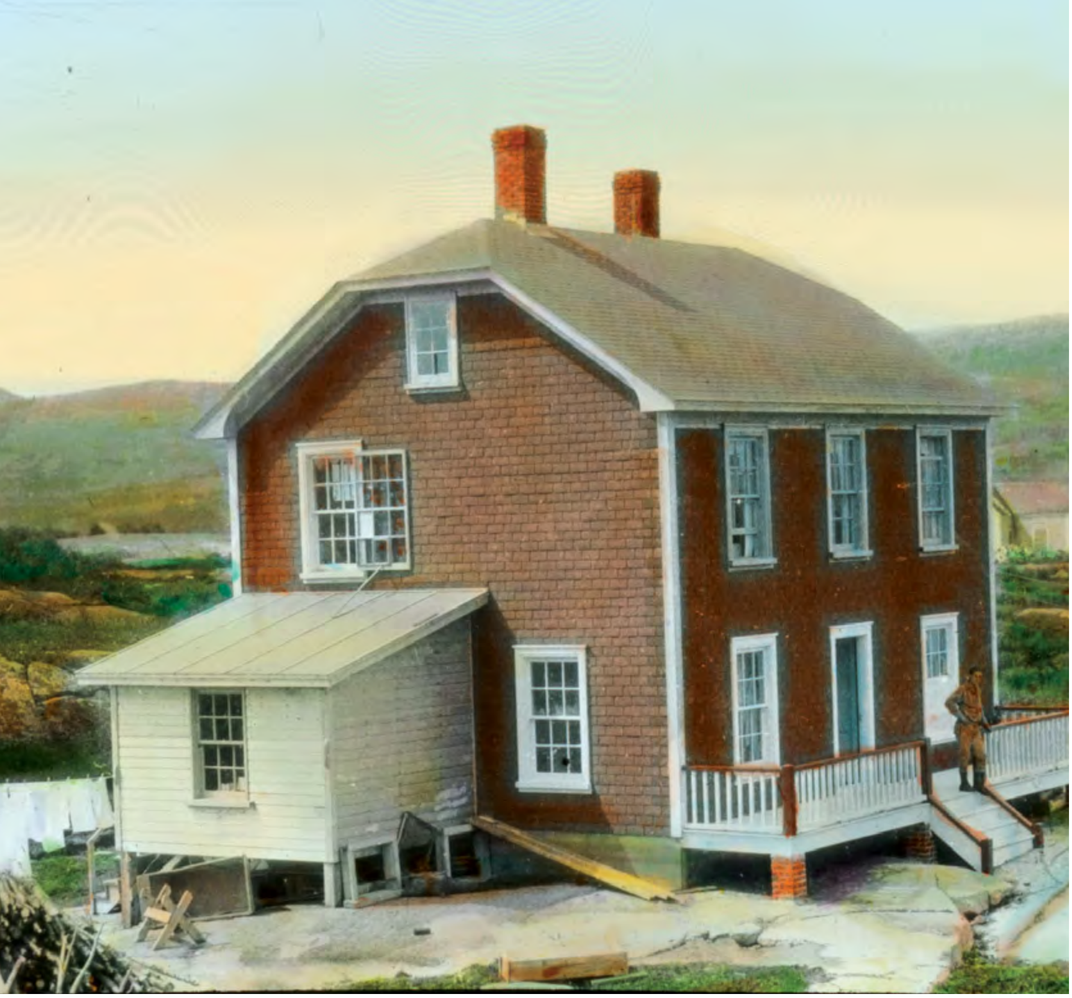
After the Second World War, bush planes and snowmobiles were increasingly used to reach patients. But these modes of travel brought other dangers. Nurse Jean Calderwood was involved in a plane crash in 1946 while trying to reach La Tabatière, Quebec, where an influenza epidemic was raging. As they were approaching Tête-à-la-Baleine (Whale Head) they noticed smoke coming from the engine.

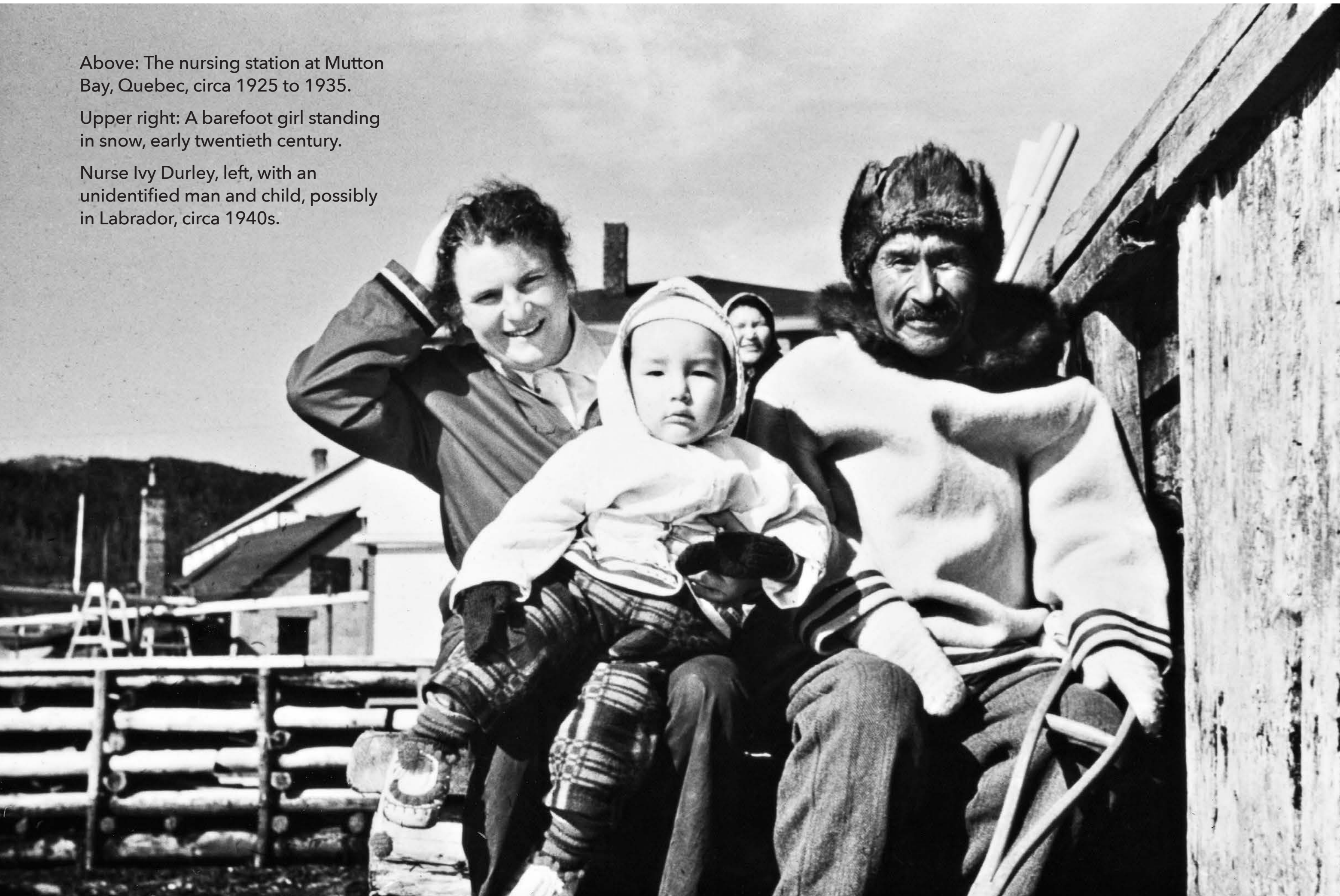
"[The pilot] took one quick look over his shoulder and started to dive," Calderwood recalled in *Deep Sea Fishers*. "There was no time to pick a spot to land; we just went down at what seemed a terrific speed — a hundred miles an hour. The landing was anything but smooth, we bounced and pitched and all but rattled out of the cabin. We could plainly see the flames outside the window and finally, when the plane came to a stop, the flames were licking up through the floor boards. We wasted no time in getting out. I fell flat on my face under the plane because of my slippery skin boots. … We all gathered at about fifty yards and watched the baggage, first-class mail, and my big black bag go up in smoke. We had no time to get these out since the plane was a roaring inferno almost immediately."

Communication was also a challenge. During emergencies, nurses could reach physicians by wireless, but this was not always reliable. Radio-telephone sets were in all the stations by the mid-twentieth century, but fog often played havoc with reception, and there was no guarantee of getting through.

Despite the difficult working conditions, the mission rarely

TOP IMAGES: THE ROOMS PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES, BOTTOM IMAGE: COURTESY OF HEIDI COOMBS-THORNE

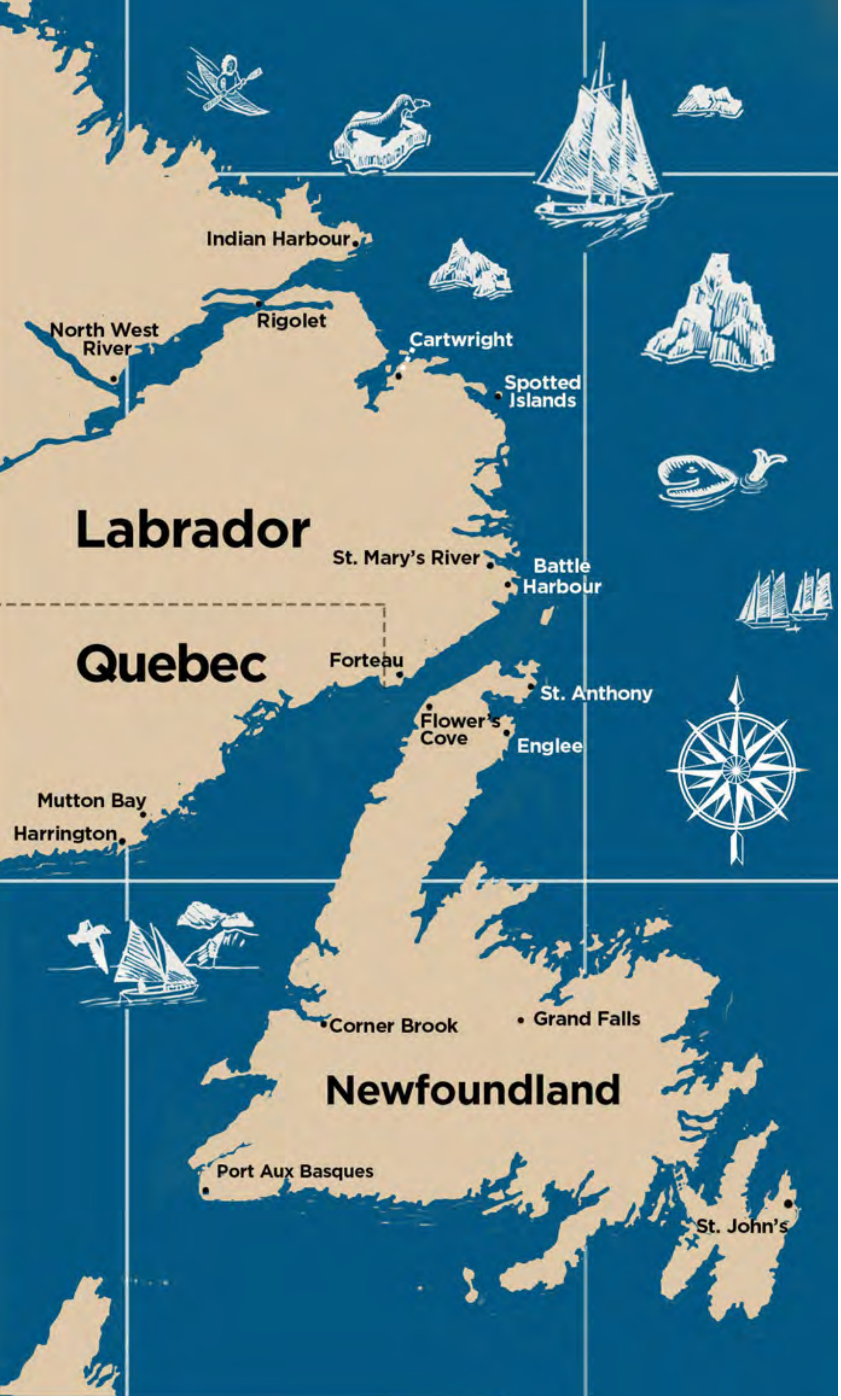




Above: The nursing station at Mutton Bay, Quebec, circa 1925 to 1935.

Upper right: A barefoot girl standing in snow, early twentieth century.

Nurse Ivy Durley, left, with an unidentified man and child, possibly in Labrador, circa 1940s.



The map shows the location of Grenfell nursing stations and hospitals in Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula, Labrador, and Quebec's Lower North Shore, circa 1940.

MAP ILLUSTRATION BY MATTHEW YATHON, ADAPTED FROM A 1950 GRENFELL ASSOCIATION MAP

had trouble recruiting nurses. Some felt called to serve people in need, while others desired the unique professional experience the mission offered.

The nursing stations usually consisted of a dispensary, four to six beds for in-patients, and an outpatient clinic. It was while treating outpatients that the Grenfell nurses experienced the most professional autonomy. With no physician present at the stations, it was the nurse's responsibility to see every case that came in the door, determine their needs, and take the necessary action. Even in the smaller hospitals at Harrington Harbour, North West River, and Cartwright, if the staff physician was away on a medical trip, which could last for several weeks at a time, it became the nurse's responsibility to see everyone who came to the hospital for care. As a result, nurses at the stations and the smaller hospitals took part in the diagnosis of patients to a greater degree than nurses in larger, more conventional hospitals.

They also performed emergency first aid at various levels of difficulty, especially cleaning and suturing lacerations of arms or legs and treating septic fingers and abscesses. The wounds associated with the lumber industry were often the most traumatic. In 1944, a young Canadian nurse from Vancouver, Alice Phillips, was posted to the nursing station at Roddickton on the east side of the Great Northern Peninsula, an active logging district. Although she was a recent graduate and had no previous experience in outport Newfoundland, she accepted the post when no one else was available during the Second World War.

Curtis reported on one of her experiences: "Miss Phillips wired me late one day that she was bringing a man with a traumatic amputation of the leg. At two o'clock in the morning after a twelve-hour ride, an open motorboat chugged into the harbour. Going to the wharf we found Miss Phillips and her patient, who was covered with canvas and surrounded by hot water bottles. His leg had been torn off above the knee when his clothes were caught in a moving belt. Miss Phillips had given him intravenous glucose, tied off the bleeding vessels, sprinkled the wound with sulfa powder, and wrapped the stump in sterile dressings. We took charge of the patient, and I told Miss Phillips to go to bed and stay in bed all the next day to get a rest. She replied that she would go to bed for a few hours but she must return at daylight back to her post because there were a lot of people who needed her attention."

There were many of these types of accidents in the fishery, the lumber industry, hunting and trapping, or the everyday business of life in rural areas. British nurse Ivy Durley performed so much emergency first aid that she reflected: "[S]ewing up axe wounds, opening abscesses comes fairly easily; in fact when you find yourself the one to do it, it almost seems as if you have been doing it always before." Durley enjoyed the work but also felt "a good deal of anxiety in having the full responsibility."

Nurses were also expected to provide veterinary care. Nurse Iris Mitchener recalled that "cows, dogs, and chickens, have all featured in the outpatient book! The cows suffered from intestinal upsets, the chickens 'drooped' according to their owners, and one dog had a dislocated shoulder. One is expected to be able to deal with all these minor calamities." They were not always the calmest patients. An August 1943 report from Flower's Cove in *Deep Sea Fishers* noted, "a dog was brought in last week, paw torn on a nail. Nine sutures were needed. What bawling!"

Dentistry was another challenge for Grenfell nurses. Lack of dental hygiene was a widespread problem in the region, largely due to the lack of dentists and the local diet of "potatoes, white bread, milkless tea with molasses; not to mention the numerous candies," wrote Smith in a letter to another nurse. Since nurses had no formal training, they had to learn dental procedures on their own, and not without apprehension. Faced with her first extraction, Canadian nurse Mary Taylor recalled getting out a metal syringe and a vial of local anaesthetic: "I set to work, hardly knowing which way to put it all together, but eventually did so. I injected the anaesthetic around the offending tooth and did the extraction successfully, but not, however, without causing my young patient a lot of discomfort."

Within months of arriving at Flower's Cove, Durley had already pulled "dozens of teeth" and felt quite used to it: "My good strong arms have served me well on the men's back molars," Durley wrote in a letter to another nurse. Lesley Diack, who authored the book *Labrador Nurse*, wrote that she became so adept at "hauling teeth" that she actually extracted one of her own and was "agreeably surprised to find how painlessly [she] extracted teeth."

Midwifery and obstetrical work were also routine, which is why the mission required that head nurses at the stations also be midwives. Patricia Cowley had so many maternity cases at the beginning of one month at Port Saunders that she wrote in a letter, "it was like the [capelin] coming in." In 1950, nurse Dorothy Jupp described in *Deep Sea Fishers* an autumn rush of deliveries at her station. By the time she got to the last delivery, the "supply of sterile goods had been used up, but the kitchen oven was pressed into emergency service" and they soon had enough to use. Jupp also ran out of room for the babies and had to put two in a cot, with one at the top and one at the bottom.

Some deliveries were harrowing experiences for both mother and nurse. In a letter written in 1947, Durley described a "bad spell" with a woman in labour who had blood poisoning and eclampsia, a condition characterized by high blood pressure and seizures. "She very nearly died on us," Durley wrote. She went on to describe how she called another nurse, and "together we tackled her. I applied forceps but both of us at full blast could not budge the head. … On account of her serious toxic condition, we could not try anything further, so had to put her under morphia, and start frantic plans for her removal to St. Anthony. She started a hemorrhage later which we eventually controlled by 2:00 a.m. This loss was good insofar as it reduced the likelihood of further fits, but [it] weakened her considerably."

Durley wrote that she was struck by a feeling of "utter helplessness" during the delivery and by how frightening it was that "help was so utterly out of reach." Nurses were not trained to perform Caesarean sections. When they recognized that a complicated delivery was beyond the scope of their practice, they did whatever they could to save mothers' lives and transferred them to the nearest hospital.

COURTESY OF HEIDI COOMBS-THORNE

Nurse Kathleen "Jo" Lutley displays snowshoes.

The mothers were unreservedly grateful to the nurses. One new mother wrote in 1949: "Except for the resourcefulness and cool-headedness of Miss Jupp and the advantages of the hospital at St. Mary's River I would not be able to write these few lines today. I am deeply indebted to Miss Jupp, to the Grenfell Mission, and to God Almighty for saving my life at the recent birth of our son. Many thanks to all concerned."

By stitching up wounds, pulling teeth, and delivering babies, the Grenfell nurses were in fact the "backbone" of the organization, as Curtis stated. The mission continued to provide medical care for the region well into the twentieth century. After Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949 it received additional funding from the federal and provincial government, and in 1981 the organization handed all of its nursing stations, hospitals, and other medical resources over to the province.

Today, the Labrador-Grenfell Regional Health Authority delivers medical services to the area formerly under the Grenfell Mission's care. Grenfell remains active as a private foundation and regularly awards grants to non-profit organizations for improving the health, education, and social welfare of people in northern Newfoundland and coastal Labrador.

THE QUEEN’S LAND

THE STORIES BEHIND THE NAMES EMBEDDED IN CANADA’S GEOGRAPHY.

by Carolyn Harris

Among Manitoba’s one hundred thousand lakes are eight that have one thing in common: Lakes Prince William, Prince Henry, Princess Beatrice, Princess Eugenie, Peter Phillips, Zara Phillips, Princess Louise, and Prince James are all named after Queen Elizabeth II’s eight grandchildren. The grandkids are the most recent generation of royals to have their names added to the map of Canada, following a centuries-old tradition of naming cities and landmarks after royalty.

The earliest explorers named settlements and landmarks in honour of royalty to stake their country’s claim to the territory. Among the first to do so was French explorer Jacques Cartier, who called the hill overlooking the Indigenous village of Hochelaga “Mont Real” (Mount Royal) after his king, Francis I. The name Montreal lasted to include not just the mountain but the city that later emerged. A later French explorer named a lake in present-day Manitoba “Dauphin,” in honour of the heir to the French throne. As Britain and France fought for control of North America, settlements received new royal place names or pronunciations.

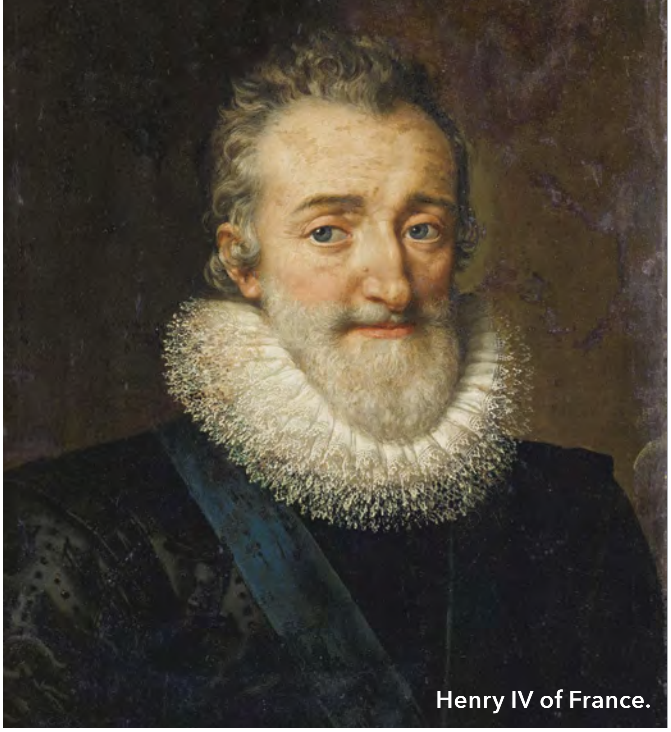
Royalty who lived in Canada for a time named places after themselves and their relatives. Crown figures who influenced Canada from afar — such as Prince Rupert and Queen Victoria — also had their names added. And royal weddings, births, tours, and coronations all influenced place names. Here are the stories of a few of the colourful majesties on our map:

A nineteenth-century portrait of Queen Victoria.

ALAMY

PORT-ROYAL/ ANNAPOLIS ROYAL

(For 'Good King Henry')


Henry IV of France.

ALAMY

When French merchant and explorer Pierre Du Gua de Monts and his cartographer, Samuel de Champlain, first established a settlement in what is now Nova Scotia in 1605, they named it Port-Royal after France's King Henry IV, the sponsor of their voyage. Henry IV reigned from 1589 to 1610 and was known as the evergreen gallant because of his hundreds of mistresses who were willing to overlook his body odour, a combination of "sweat, stables, feet, and garlic." It was even rumoured that Champlain had been one of his numerous illegitimate children.

"Good King Henry" is said to have been the first leader of a country to promise a "chicken in every pot": "If God keeps me, I will make sure that no peasant in my realm will lack the means to have a chicken in the pot on Sunday." Despite his tremendous personal charm, he had to fight his way to the throne during the French Wars of Religion. French Roman Catholics were unwilling to accept a Protestant on the throne, so Henry IV, a Huguenot, converted to Catholicism, reputedly declaring, "Paris is worth a mass." He had a successful reign until his untimely murder in 1610 by a knife-wielding religious fanatic who was "prey to visions."

Meanwhile, in Canada, Henry's Port-Royal was destroyed by English forces in 1613. Almost twenty years later, the French relocated the community to a spot about eight kilometres upstream from the original site and made it the capital of Acadia. But with the British conquest of Acadia in 1710, Port-Royal and the surrounding county received a new royal name, Annapolis Royal, after Britain's Queen Anne (who reigned from 1702 to 1714).

The British queen was rather different from the French king in that she was apparently faithful both to her husband — Prince George of Denmark — and to her Anglican religion. While she loved the good life — large meals, drinking, card playing, and opera — this was tempered by a painful gout condition that left her crippled toward the end of her life. Anne had seventeen pregnancies, but not a single child lived past the age of eleven. The death of her last surviving child prompted the passing of the Act of Settlement, which left the throne to the Queen's German cousins, the House of Hanover.

Queen Anne's Annapolis Royal remained a highly contested location. The French, the Acadians, and their Indigenous allies attempted to retake the village several times, and American privateers raided Annapolis Royal during the American Revolution. The town served as Nova Scotia's capital until the founding of Halifax in 1749.

CAPE HENRIETTA MARIA (For a warrior queen)

Welsh explorer Thomas James was searching for the fabled Northwest Passage when he named this remote cape at the northwestern tip of James Bay after the wife of King Charles I (who reigned from 1625 to 1649). Henrietta Maria is notable for being the only queen to be impeached by England's House of Commons. She was also the daughter of King Henry IV of France and was born in 1609, during the same decade her father sponsored Champlain's expeditions.

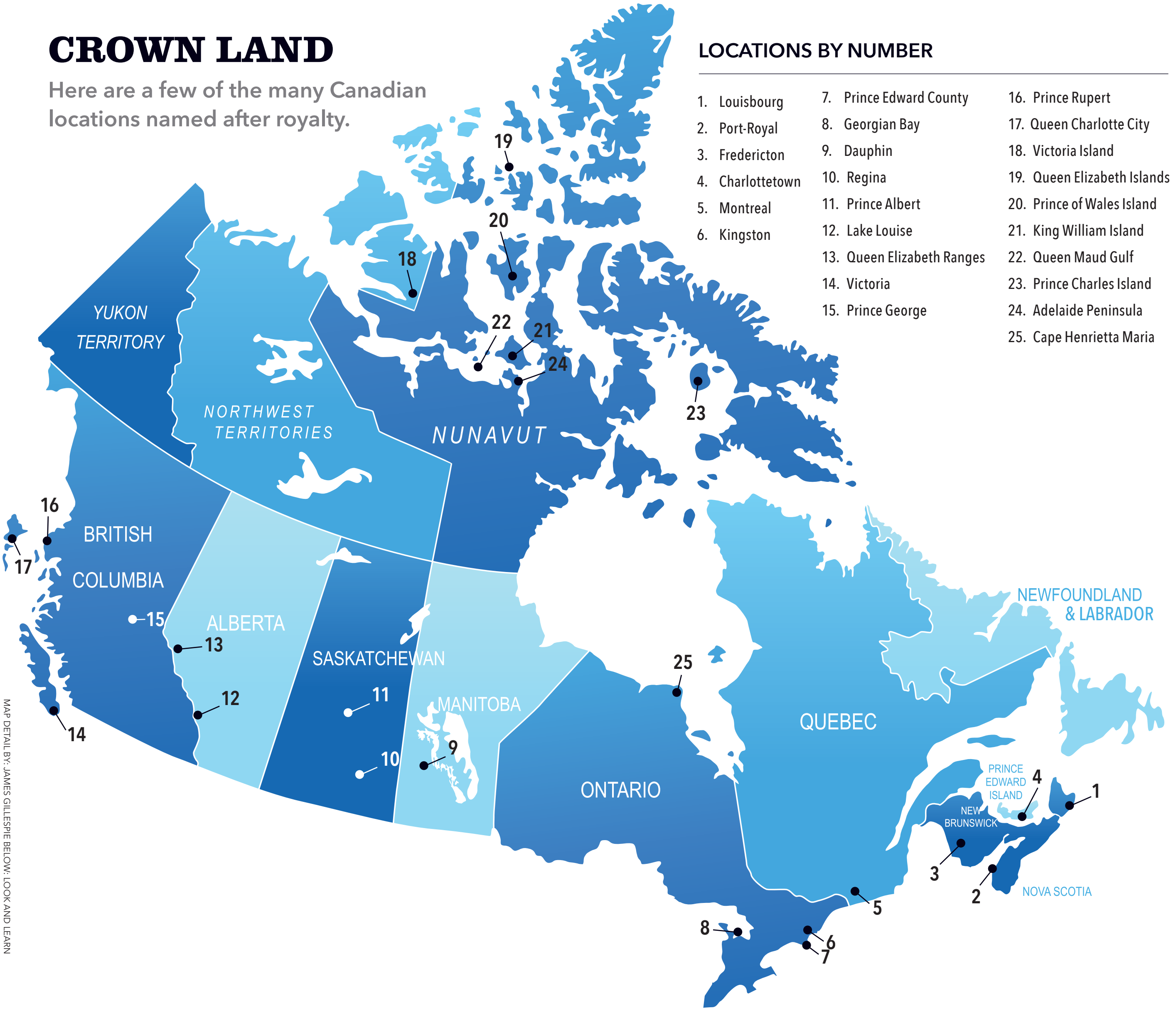
Her marriage to Charles I in 1625 was happy but controversial — he was Protestant, she was Roman Catholic. Family portraits by Anthony Van Dyck emphasized their blissful marriage and family life. In one, Henrietta Maria is shown holding her baby daughter, making her the first queen of England to pose for a portrait with one of her children in her arms. The fact that she was French and Catholic, however, did not endear her to Charles I's Protestant subjects.

When the English Civil Wars broke out in 1642, Henrietta Maria fled to Holland and sold some of the crown jewels to pay mercenaries to fight in the royalist army. She returned to England with her troops in 1643, styling herself "She-Majesty Generalissima." The House of Commons, outraged by her behaviour, impeached the queen in absentia. Fearing for her safety, she fled to France in 1644 and remained there for the remainder of the civil war, surviving Charles I, who was beheaded in 1649. She returned to England in 1660 when her son was restored to the English throne as King Charles II. As dowager queen, she remained a controversial figure. The diarist Samuel Pepys recorded rumours of an affair with her steward, the Earl of St. Albans, and disapproval of her lavish court at London's Somerset House.

Cape Henrietta Maria, located in what is now northern Ontario, is today the summer home for about two hundred polar bears as well as other migrating wildlife.

CROWN LAND

Here are a few of the many Canadian locations named after royalty.


YUKON TERRITORY
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BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR
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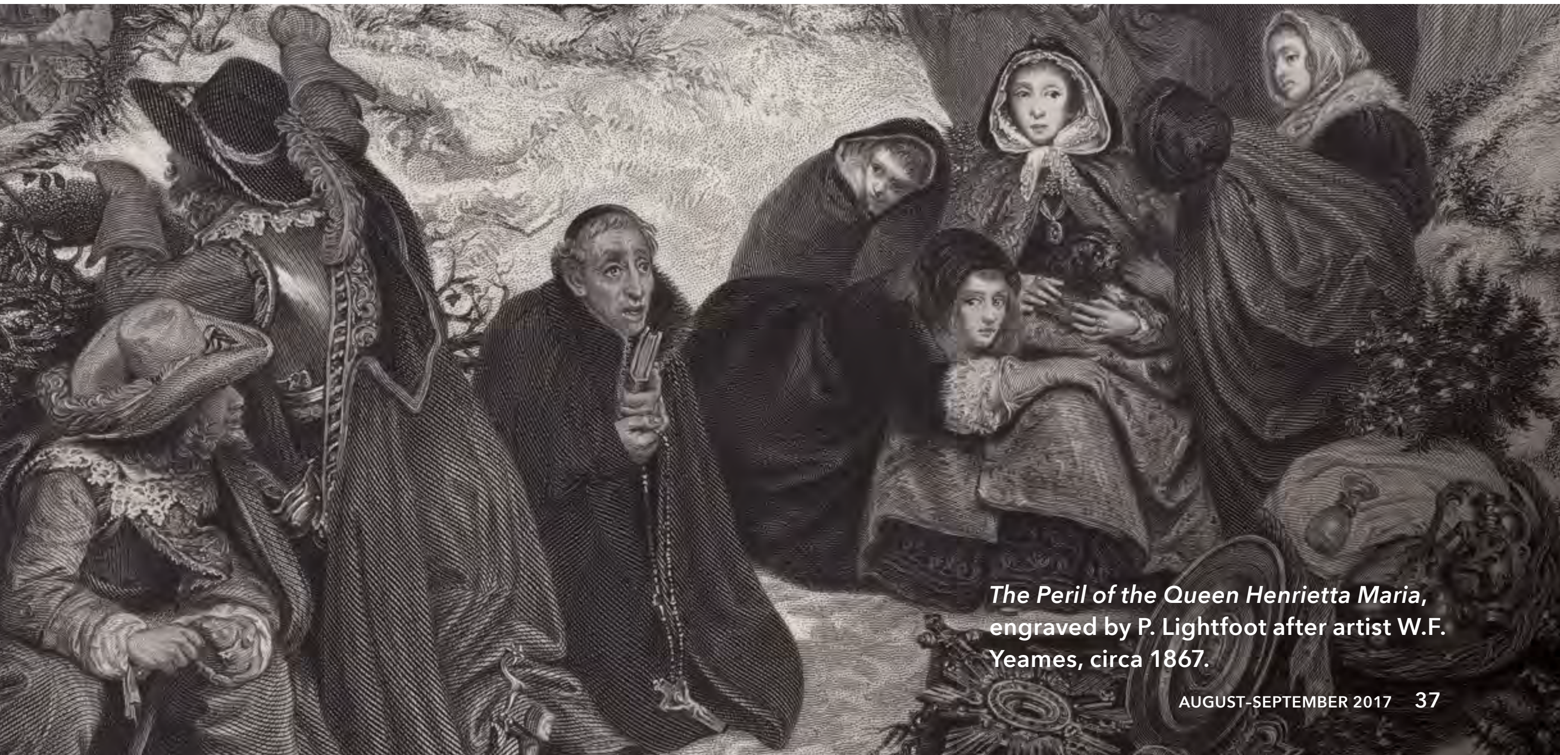
MAP DETAIL BY: JAMES GILLESPIE BELOW: LOOK AND LEARN

LOCATIONS BY NUMBER

1. Louisbourg
2. Port-Royal
3. Fredericton
4. Charlottetown
5. Montreal
6. Kingston
7. Prince Edward County
8. Georgian Bay
9. Dauphin
10. Regina
11. Prince Albert
12. Lake Louise
13. Queen Elizabeth Ranges
14. Victoria
15. Prince George
16. Prince Rupert
17. Queen Charlotte City
18. Victoria Island
19. Queen Elizabeth Islands
20. Prince of Wales Island
21. King William Island
22. Queen Maud Gulf
23. Prince Charles Island
24. Adelaide Peninsula
25. Cape Henrietta Maria



The Peril of the Queen Henrietta Maria, engraved by P. Lightfoot after artist W.F. Yeames, circa 1867.

LOUISBOURG (For the Sun King)

The Fortress of Louisbourg was named for one of Queen Anne's contemporaries, King Louis XIV of France, the longest reigning monarch in French history. The building of the massive stone fortress in what is now Cape Breton began in 1713, just two years before the end of the king's record-breaking seventy-two-year reign from 1643 to 1715.

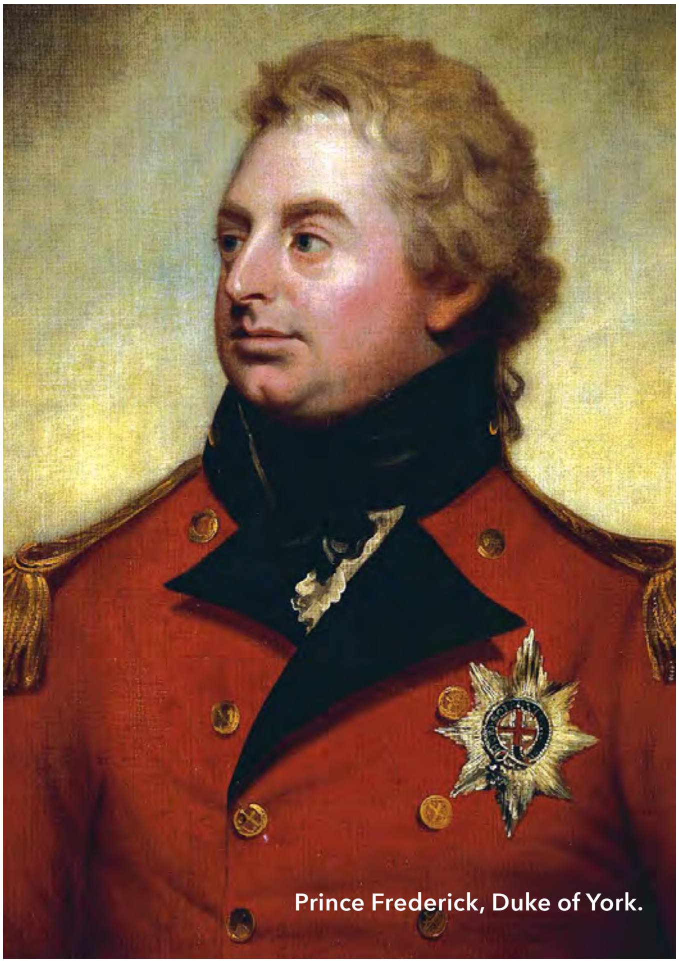
Louisbourg was one of the most extensive European fortifications constructed in North America. Built to provide a base for France's lucrative North American fishery and to protect Quebec from British invasions, the cost of its construction was more than seven times its original budget. The escalating expense prompted Louis XIV's successor, Louis XV, to jokingly remark that he expected to see its walls rising above the horizon when he looked out a window of his palace.

The Sun King, as he was called, was no stranger to big construction projects. Over the course of his reign, he transformed the royal residence at Versailles from a comparatively modest hunting lodge to one of the most spectacular palaces in Europe. His cultural impact was not restricted to architecture. The king popularized the ballet, even dancing onstage himself in court performances. He also commissioned more than twenty statues of himself, which stood throughout France to remind his subjects who was in charge.

Louis XIV took a strong interest in the development of New France. Concerned at the slow population growth of French Canada compared to the English colonies to the south, he sponsored hundreds of female emigrants in the 1660s, who became known as "the king's daughters."

The Fortress of Louisbourg did not last. The British systematically destroyed it after capturing it in 1758. However, a quarter of the site was rebuilt in the 1960s and 1970s, and the fort is now considered, appropriately enough, the "crown jewel" of Canada's National Historic Site system. Louis XIV is also honoured in Quebec City, where the Place Royale is named for this famous king.

FREDERICTON (For a man with a mixed military legacy)


Prince Frederick, Duke of York.

PUBLIC DOMAIN

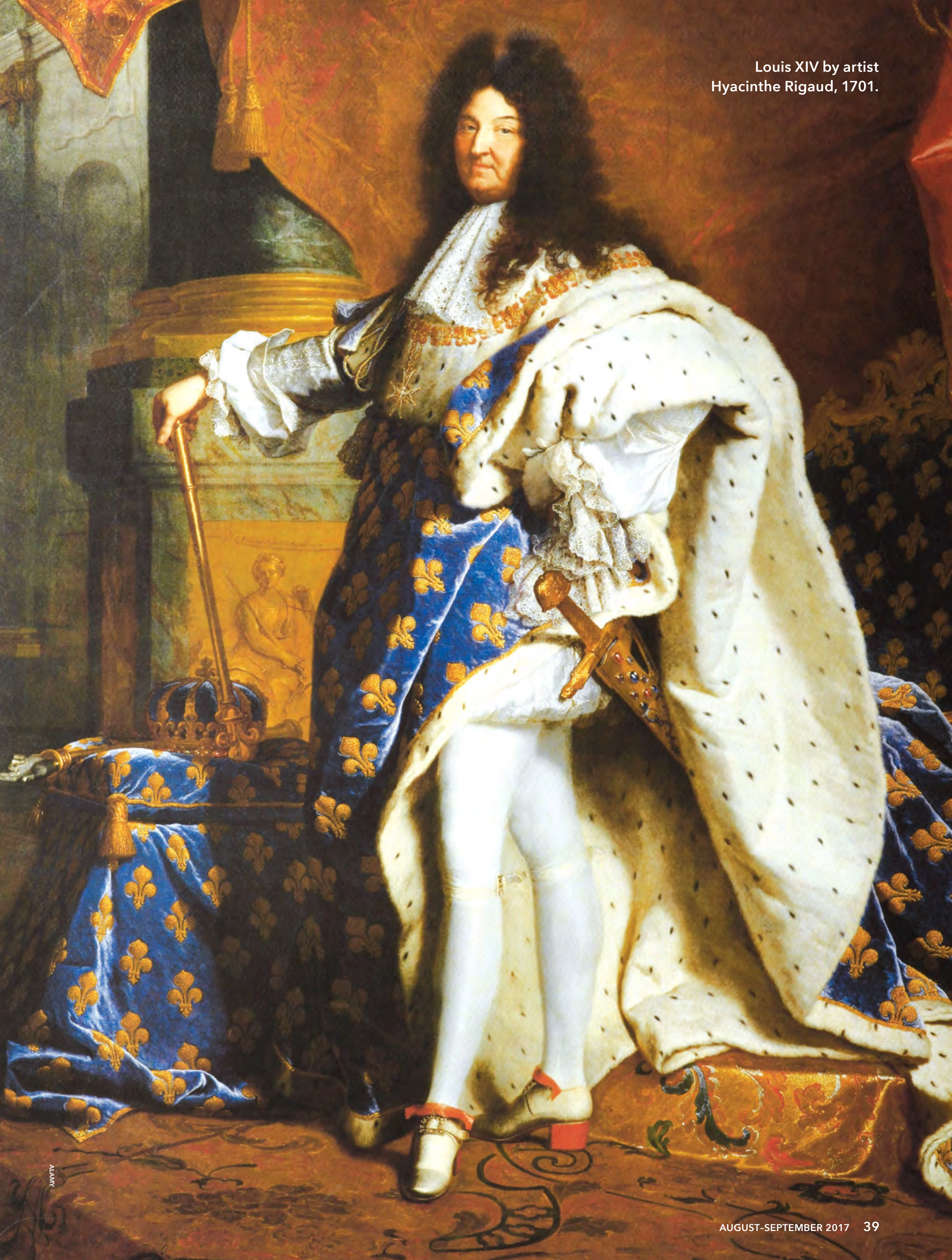
When Loyalists arrived in the 1780s at what was once the site of an Acadian village called Pointe-Sainte-Anne, they named it "Frederick's town," for Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Albany. The prince was a skilled military organizer and administrator who initiated many reforms within the British army and founded the Royal Military College in 1802, the forerunner to present-day Sandhurst in the United Kingdom.

As a field commander — Frederick was commander-in-chief of the British forces during the French Revolutionary Wars and the early years of the Napoleonic Wars — he had less success. His defeat at the Battle of Turcoing in 1794 is believed to have inspired a nursery rhyme known as "The Grand Old Duke of York" — its lyrics are proverbial for futile action.

Frederick's military career came to a temporary end in 1809 when his mistress Mary Clarke was accused of selling military commissions, prompting a parliamentary inquiry. Editorial cartoons soon appeared depicting the British army being run by Clarke, and the salacious details of Frederick's personal life were published by Thomas Curson Hansard, who had just acquired the right to publish transcripts of parliamentary debates.

Although the House of Commons cleared him of corruption, Frederick chose to resign from his post anyway, only to be reinstated two years later. Throughout the scandal, Frederick's estranged wife, Frederica of Prussia, stood by him. They had separated soon after their marriage, and she maintained her own stately home filled with pet dogs, cats, and monkeys. Nevertheless, they remained close friends, and Frederick mourned her passing in 1820.

Today, a portrait of Prince Frederick graces Fredericton's city council chambers.



Louis XIV by artist Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1701.

ALAMY

CHARLOTTETOWN

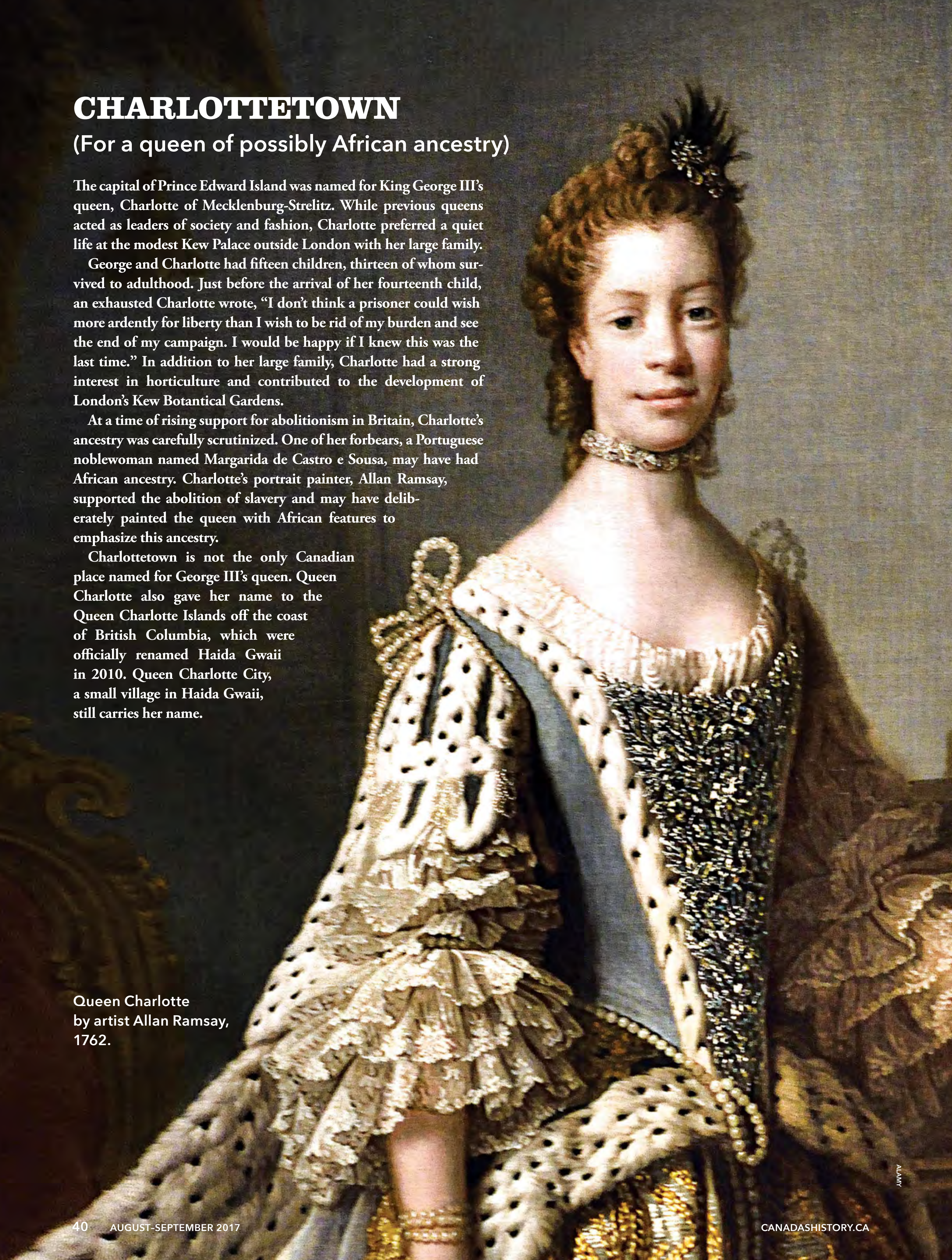
(For a queen of possibly African ancestry)

The capital of Prince Edward Island was named for King George III's queen, Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. While previous queens acted as leaders of society and fashion, Charlotte preferred a quiet life at the modest Kew Palace outside London with her large family.

George and Charlotte had fifteen children, thirteen of whom survived to adulthood. Just before the arrival of her fourteenth child, an exhausted Charlotte wrote, "I don't think a prisoner could wish more ardently for liberty than I wish to be rid of my burden and see the end of my campaign. I would be happy if I knew this was the last time." In addition to her large family, Charlotte had a strong interest in horticulture and contributed to the development of London's Kew Botantical Gardens.

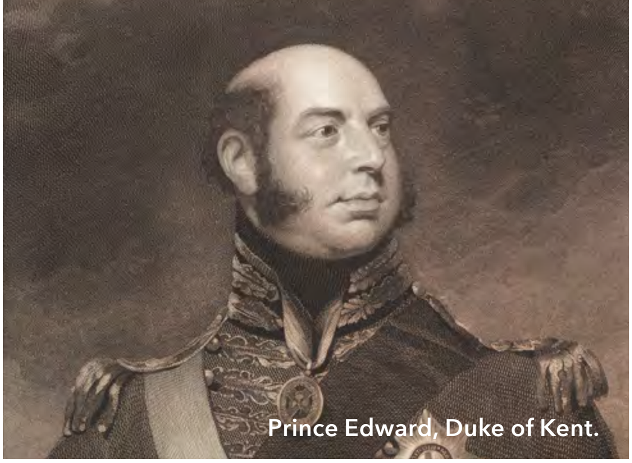
At a time of rising support for abolitionism in Britain, Charlotte's ancestry was carefully scrutinized. One of her forbears, a Portuguese noblewoman named Margarida de Castro e Sousa, may have had African ancestry. Charlotte's portrait painter, Allan Ramsay, supported the abolition of slavery and may have deliberately painted the queen with African features to emphasize this ancestry.

Charlottetown is not the only Canadian place named for George III's queen. Queen Charlotte also gave her name to the Queen Charlotte Islands off the coast of British Columbia, which were officially renamed Haida Gwaii in 2010. Queen Charlotte City, a small village in Haida Gwaii, still carries her name.



Queen Charlotte by artist Allan Ramsay, 1762.

ALAMY



Prince Edward, Duke of Kent.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

(For Queen Victoria's father)

Canada's smallest province was named for Prince Edward, the Duke of Kent, the fourth son of King George III. Edward was the first member of the royal family to live in Canada for an extended period of time, residing in Halifax and Quebec City during the 1790s in a military capacity and eventually becoming commander-in-chief of the British North American forces.

During his time in Canada, Prince Edward endeavoured to improve military standards. He commissioned a town clock and parade grounds in Halifax and an improved communication system for the city's fortified area.

His extensive travels set precedents for future royal tours, and he was the first to describe both English and French speakers as "Canadians." He is reported to have dispersed a 1792 riot in Charlesbourg, Lower Canada, with the words, "Part then in peace; I urge you to unanimity and concord. Let me hear no more of the odious distinction of French and English. *You are all* his Britannic Majesty's Canadian subjects."

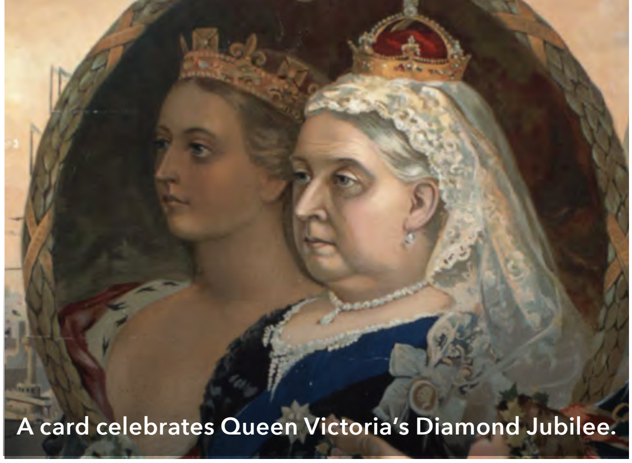
Prince Edward was unmarried during his time in Canada, but he lived with his long-time mistress, Julie de Saint-Laurent. In Britain he could not appear in society with Saint-Laurent, but the British North American elite invited the couple into their homes, and they became close friends with John Graves and Elizabeth Simcoe. There are numerous Canadian families that claim to be descended from an illegitimate child born to the couple during their time in British North America, but there is no evidence that they started a family in Canada.

After his return to Britain, Prince Edward faced pressure to marry a princess and to father legitimate heirs. Hoping Parliament would pay his debts if he married a suitable bride, he reluctantly ended his relationship with Saint-Laurent and married Princess Victoire of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, a widow with two children, in 1818. Prince Edward died of pneumonia just nine months after the birth of the future Queen Victoria in 1819.

Although Prince Edward never actually visited his namesake island, its residents were no doubt grateful for the fortifications he ordered for Charlottetown to protect the city from raids by sea — a frequent problem during the settlement's early history.

Ontario's Prince Edward County is also named after the Duke of Kent, as are many other places throughout Canada.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA



A card celebrates Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

VICTORIA AND REGINA

(For the Mother of Confederation)

There are more Canadian cities, streets, neighbourhoods, landmarks, and natural features named after Queen Victoria (who reigned from 1837 to 1901) than any other royal personage. Queen Victoria's birthday, May 24, was celebrated as a holiday in the Province of Canada from 1845 and continued to be a holiday after her death in 1901 to honour her role as the Mother of Confederation.

Victoria never visited Canada herself, but all four of her sons and her daughter Princess Louise (who changed the name of Pile of Bones to Regina to honour her mother) spent time here. In 1843, the Hudson's Bay Company named a fort on Vancouver Island for the queen. The town of Victoria was founded in 1851–52, becoming the capital of British Columbia in 1868.

Victoria was closely involved in the development of Canada over the course of her sixty-three-year reign. She became queen in 1837, succeeding her uncle, William IV — for whom the Arctic's King William Island is named. Just months after William's death, rebellions broke out in Upper Canada and Lower Canada. Amnesties were granted to rebels in honour of Victoria's coronation the following year.

Victoria met with John A. Macdonald and other Fathers of Confederation in London, and their shared loyalty to the Crown helped to bring the provinces together. The queen also selected Ottawa as Canada's capital, as it was on the border between English and French Canada and located a safe distance from the American border.

In addition to her political influence, Queen Victoria had a profound cultural impact. White wedding dresses became the norm when she wore one to marry Prince Albert in 1840. She also popularized family Christmas celebrations, seaside vacations, and childbirth anaesthesia (she requested the newly invented chloroform for the births of the two youngest of her nine children).

Author Lucy Maud Montgomery wrote, "When I was a child and young girl the Victoria myth was in full flower. We were brought up to believe that 'the queen' … was a model for all girls, brides, wives, mothers, and queens to follow. In those days every home boasted a framed picture of the queen — a luridly coloured photo sent out as a 'supplement' by a popular weekly."

There are at least ten statues of Victoria standing in prominent places throughout Canada, including one at McGill University, that was sculpted by her daughter Louise.

ALBERTA AND LAKE LOUISE

(For Victoria's vivacious daughter)

In 1878, Queen Victoria's fourth daughter, Princess Louise Caroline Alberta, became the first princess to cross the Atlantic Ocean when her husband John Campbell, Lord Lorne, became the fourth Governor General of Canada since Confederation. For the first time royalty moved into Rideau Hall, and the Canadian public was fascinated by the resident princess.

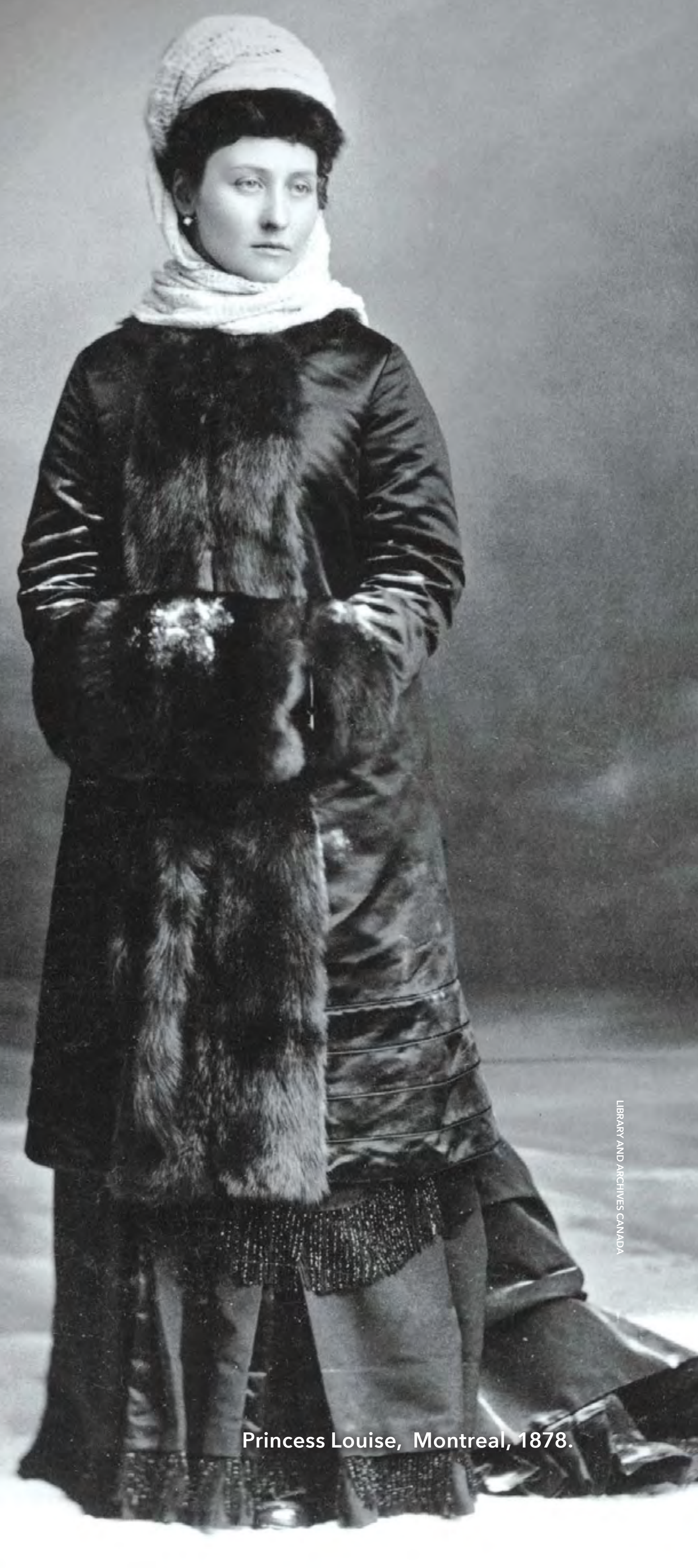
The Ottawa correspondent for *The Times of London* wrote on December 24, 1878: "Matters of state pale in popular estimation in comparison with the movements of the Princess. The fact that she has been skating, she has been out walking daily, visiting the Chaudière Falls and city shops, she carries a light cane while walking — these matters call forth lively comments wherever men or women congregate."

There had already been "lively comments" about Louise's activities before she left Britain. Louise was the first princess to attend a public educational institution, attending the National Art Training School in London to develop her talents as a painter and sculptor. She was also an advocate of women's rights, encouraging education for girls and meeting privately with suffragists. And her marriage to Lord Lorne marked the first time an English princess had married a non-royal husband since 1515.

Lord Lorne and Princess Louise encouraged Canadian artists to exhibit their works in Canada, rather than going abroad to the United States or Great Britain, as was the usual practice at the time. They founded the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and the National Gallery of Canada, with Louise donating one of her paintings to the collection.

Unfortunately, Louise was injured in a sleighing accident in 1881 and spent long periods of time recovering her health in Bermuda and Europe. Although her absence led to speculation that she did not enjoy Canadian society, she in fact maintained an interest in Canada long after Lord Lorne's term as Governor General ended in 1883.

There might have been a province called Louise today, except that when the then-district was being named after her in 1882 the princess preferred that it carry the name she had inherited from her father — Alberta. Her other famous namesake landmark — Lake Louise in Alberta's Rocky Mountains — is known for its quiet beauty and is one of Canada's best-known tourist attractions. The princess herself was evidently fond of Alberta. She wrote in 1924, "I am intensely proud of this beautiful and wonderful Province being called after me, and that my husband should have thought of it."



LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Princess Louise, Montreal, 1878.

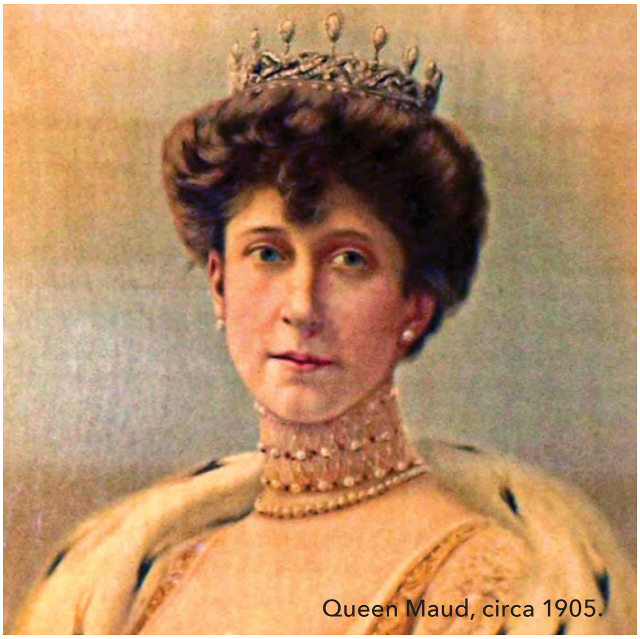
QUEEN MAUD GULF (For Norway's ice queen)

Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen named the body of water between the mainland of what is now Nunavut and the southeast of Victoria Island the Queen Maud Gulf for his country's new queen.

Maud was the youngest and favourite daughter of Britain's King Edward VII and always made clear that Britain was her true home. She never fully mastered Norwegian and maintained a home on the Sandringham Estate in Norfolk, England, which she visited annually.

Yet there was one aspect of life in Norway that suited Maud: winter sports. When she became queen, she was already an enthusiastic amateur athlete who enjoyed riding and cycling. She also took up skiing, which encouraged other women to take up the sport. Maud passed her love of outdoor pursuits to her son, Crown Prince Olav, who — as part of the Norwegian sailing team at the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam — became the first royal recipient of an Olympic gold medal.

Maud was also known for her stylish wardrobe, wearing designer sportswear on horseback and at the top of ski hills. Her love of winter sports was fitting, as her name is attached to some of the coldest regions in the world: Nunavut's Queen Maud Gulf and Antarctica's Queen Maud Land and Queen Maud mountains.


Queen Maud, circa 1905.

PRINCE GEORGE (For George, but which George?)

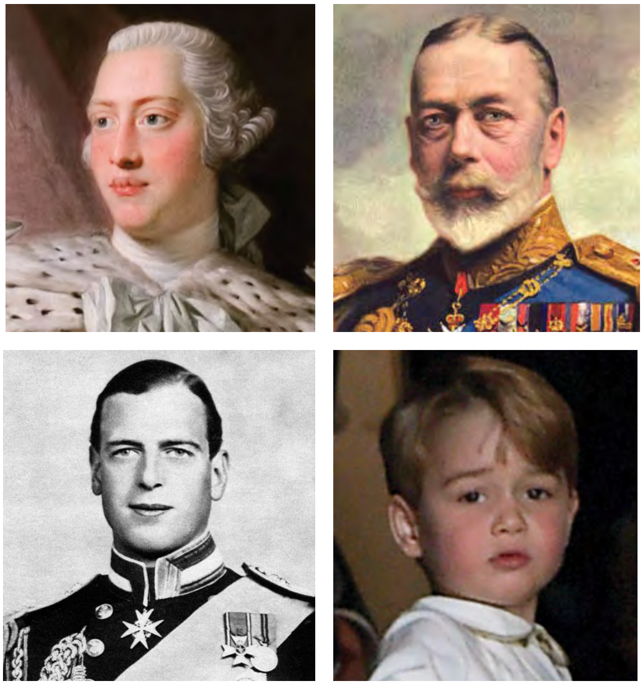
There have been so many princes named George in recent royal history that there remains debate about which member of the royal family gave his name to the northern British Columbia city of Prince George. Explorer Simon Fraser named the site Fort George — after Britain's King George III — in 1807. When the city was incorporated in 1915, George V (who reigned from 1910 to 1935) was king.

The second son of King Edward VII, George became king after his elder brother Albert Victor died of pneumonia, George married his brother's fiancée, Princess Mary of Teck, and in 1901 the young couple went on an action-packed tour of Canada.

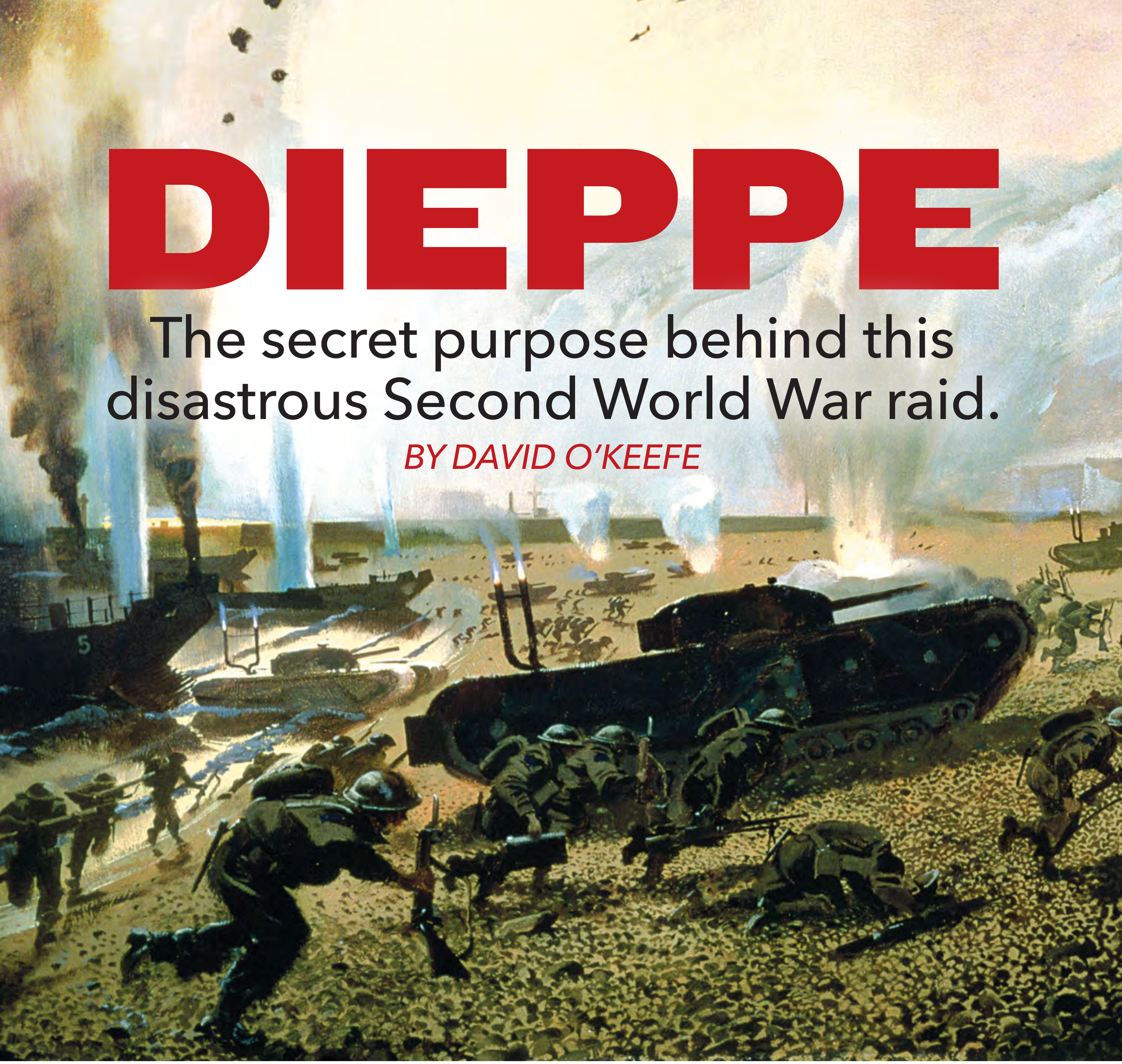
Since the name of the city is Prince George, rather than King George, another likely possibility is that it is named after King George V and Queen Mary's fourth son, Prince George, who became Duke of Kent in 1934. George was the first member of the royal family to cross the Atlantic by airplane, conducting a flying tour of Canada's British Commonwealth Air Training Plan during the Second World War. George died in a plane crash in 1942 at the age of thirty-eight.

When William and Kate, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, decided to name their first child Prince George, there was a revival of interest in the British Columbia city's royal history. In 2014, Mayor Shari Green proclaimed July 22 Prince George of Cambridge day, making the future king's birthday an annual celebration for the residents of Prince George.

Other George-inspired names include Ontario's Georgian Bay — for King George IV.


Clockwise from upper left: King George III, 1762, King George V, 1936, Prince George of Cambridge, 2017, and Prince George, Duke of Kent, 1936.

ALAMY, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, CANADIAN PRESS.



DIEPPE

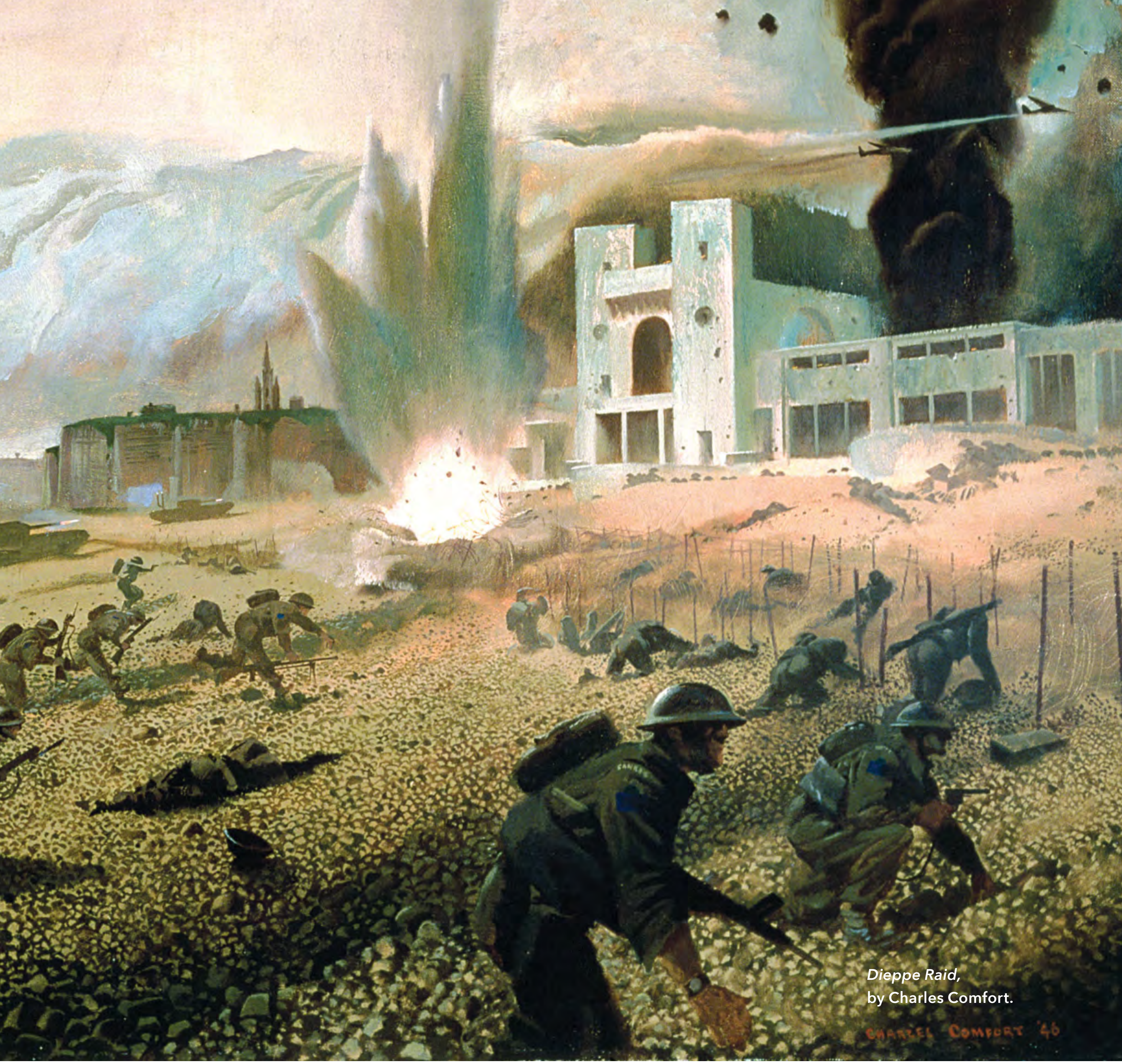
The secret purpose behind this disastrous Second World War raid.

BY DAVID O'KEEFE

No amount of historical research, discovery or interpretation will change the grisly facts about the raid on the French channel port of Dieppe seventy-five years ago. In just six hours, over a thousand Allied (mostly Canadian) soldiers, sailors, and airmen paid the ultimate price on August 19, 1942. About twenty-three hundred others became prisoners of war, while scores of tanks and landing craft were burned and abandoned along the chert rock beach. What British Prime Minister Winston Churchill cavalierly referred to as a "butcher and bolt" raid had ended in unprecedented horror, bitterness, and recrimination that was ruthlessly exploited by Nazi propaganda. It was a black eye for the Allied cause at this critical juncture in the war and a disaster forever ensconced in Canadian memory and psyche.

Many reasons have been given for why the raid was launched, but recently declassified documents have shown that at its heart it was a "pinch" (British slang for "steal") operation designed to capture cryptographic material for code breakers like Alan Turing, Peter Twinn, and their colleagues at the British code-breaking centre at Bletchley Park in England. Dieppe was the fifth in a series of amphibious raids orchestrated to capture the highly sensitive material.

When these raids began in 1941, the British Empire faced the Nazi threat alone. Its survival lay in the protection of the sea



Dieppe Raid,
by Charles Comfort.

CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM

lanes that were under siege by German U-boats and surface vessels. Signals intelligence — specifically cryptography (the ability to break into and read the enemy's enciphered communications) — rose to the forefront as a weapon. The ability to tap into German messages provided crucial information about enemy positions, plans, capabilities, technologies, and intentions, permitting the Allies to allocate scarce resources in a calculated fashion. The most sensitive intelligence came from Bletchley Park and was classified "Ultra Secret."

The British Royal Navy, along with Combined Operations Headquarters, developed a pinch doctrine — a systematic approach or playbook — to seize enemy cipher material, such as code books, cipher tables, and even the famed German Enigma cipher machine itself.

Three forms of pinch operations emerged. The first, known as "pinch by chance," was the incidental discovery of useful material during an action at sea or on land. The second, "pinch by opportunity," called for a special force to be ready to take advantage of conditions created by an ongoing operation. The third was "pinch by design." In this scenario an operation was laid on specifically to capture the precious cipher material.

The key to success lay in a multi-faceted approach underscored by three intricate pillars of success — namely, surprise, shock, and security. Surprise was paramount to reduce the odds that the enemy would destroy the material before it could be snatched. All pinch operations were underlined by this primary need, even if this meant normal levels of tactical common sense fell short.

The second pillar, shock, meant a thunderclap of firepower designed to rattle, pin, kill, or incapacitate. In this case, firepower had to be sudden and suppressive, rather than destructive — otherwise the material being sought after could be lost.

Finally, the pillar of security was needed to hide the real purpose of the raid. This was a twofold process. First, to placate German suspicion, any enemy vessels or facilities that were seized were to be reported as sunk or destroyed. Second, the raid itself was to be designed to look nothing like a pinch operation. Rather ingeniously, the British utilized the concept of disproportionate force allocation to give the appearance of an orthodox operation in order to confuse and deflect from the true intent — something Admiral John Godfrey, the head of the Royal Navy's Naval Intelligence Division, referred to as "cracking a nut with a steam hammer." In theory, this reasoning was sound: No enemy would ever suspect that the devotion of such large amounts of resources was merely a cover.

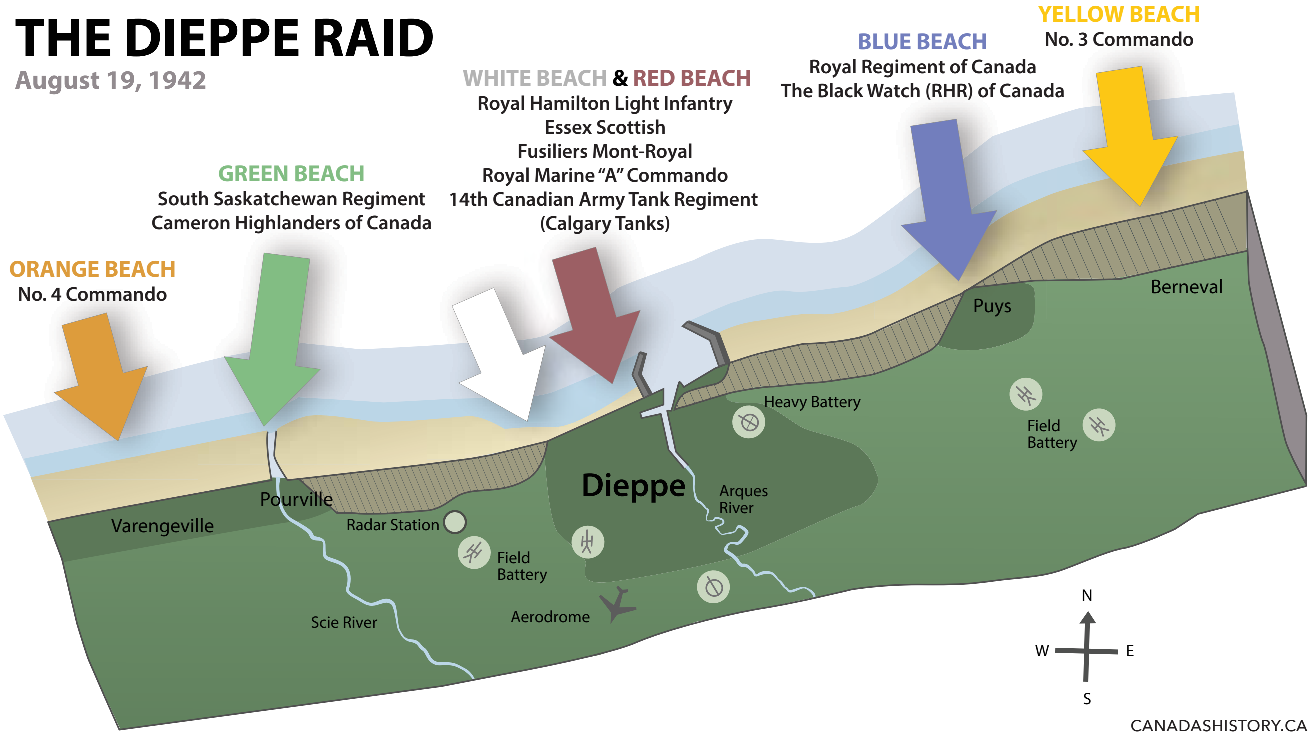
The first pinch by design, in the Lofoten Islands of Norway in March 1941, met with unprecedented success. Material seized instantly lifted the daunting cryptographic blackout plaguing Bletchley Park and changed the balance in the Battle of the Atlantic towards the Allied cause. Until then, the code breakers had been stymied by the daunting three-rotor version of the naval Enigma machine. Then, British army commandos, supported by boarding parties from the Royal Navy, swarmed into the harbour, stormed ashore, and plundered German trawlers, the local naval headquarters, and a communications supply depot. Press reports described the "sinking" of captured vessels and the large-scale destruction of shore facilities — propaganda skilfully calculated to thrill the public and to offset German worry about the capture of cipher material.

The success of this operation put the amphibious approach to pinching on the map and was a definite feather in the cap of Combined Operations. But a dearth of specialized landing craft was problematic, and pinch operations changed form, with lone trawlers stationed far out of sight in the Atlantic becoming the main targets. In the months following the Lofoten raid, over a dozen trawlers were scooped up, providing much-needed material for the code breakers.

Meanwhile, the systematic disappearance of their weather trawlers led the German navy — the Kriegsmarine — to suspect that its three-rotor Enigma enciphered communications had been compromised. Although a change in cipher tables was the quick fix for the rest of the Kriegsmarine, the head of the U-boat arm, Admiral Karl Doenitz, took an extra step and began outfitting his Atlantic U-boats with a new four-rotor version of the Enigma. The additional rotor increased the already astronomical odds of breaking the cipher to an otherworldly ninety-two septillion to one, leaving a pinch as the "only hope."

British naval intelligence knew something was afoot. A smashed lid from a four-rotor Enigma was pulled from a captured U-boat on August 27, 1941, providing clear evidence that a new device had been parcelled out and that another intelligence blackout was in the offing. The only saving grace at this point was that Doenitz had yet to pull the trigger on their use in combat. The introduction of a new encryption device to an entire navy was not easy or cost-efficient, and the British reasoned that the Kriegsmarine would not make a wholesale changeover unless convinced that the three-rotor model was permanently compromised. They were wrong.

When Lord Louis Mountbatten took command of Combined Operations in October 1941, another pinch raid on Lofoten and Vaagso islands in Norway was in the last stages of preparation. Mountbatten, the vainglorious playboy of royal bloodlines, who was said to have been promoted far above his ceiling by Churchill, possessed an unparalleled technical understanding of signals intelligence. Having designed the signals intelligence plan for the Mediterranean fleet, and having lobbied for improved encryption devices for the Royal Navy, Mountbatten understood the vital nature of cryptography.


THE DIEPPE RAID
August 19, 1942
ORANGE BEACH
No. 4 Commando
GREEN BEACH
South Saskatchewan Regiment
Cameron Highlanders of Canada
WHITE BEACH & RED BEACH
Royal Hamilton Light Infantry
Essex Scottish
Fusiliers Mont-Royal
Royal Marine "A" Commando
14th Canadian Army Tank Regiment
(Calgary Tanks)
BLUE BEACH
Royal Regiment of Canada
The Black Watch (RHR) of Canada
YELLOW BEACH
No. 3 Commando
Varengeville
Pourville
Radar Station
Field Battery
Scie River
Aerodrome
Dieppe
Arques River
Heavy Battery
Puys
Field Battery
Berneval
N
W
E
S

MAP: MATTHEW YATHON

Personnel landing craft draw away from a motor torpedo boat during the raid on Dieppe.

But Mountbatten's personality coloured the planning and the execution of future pinch raids with a distinct hubris, fuelled by his egotism, panache, and "boy's own" flair. This left Admiral Bertram Ramsay (who later commanded all naval forces for the Normandy invasion in 1944) to opine that Combined Operations Headquarters was now in the hands of "inexperienced enthusiasts" susceptible to "victory disease."

This phenomenon was reinforced when the twin raids on Lofoten and Vaagso islands — Operations Anklet and Archery — were carried out on December 27, 1941. From an operational point of view, these were widely considered the most successful pinch raids of all. However, although much crucial cipher material fell into Allied hands, nothing related to the four-rotor naval Enigma materialized. That setback did not phase Mountbatten or his planning staff in the slightest. For them, the raids had gone according to plan; so what could possibly go wrong moving forward, as long as they clung to their ever-expanding and increasingly bold game plan? This flawed assumption laid the groundwork for disaster at Dieppe the following summer.

The results of the latest raid thrust the British into a precarious position. With no indication as to when Doenitz would start using the new device, they were hesitant to take any action that could hasten its arrival. Yet they had to remain ready to pounce when it did.

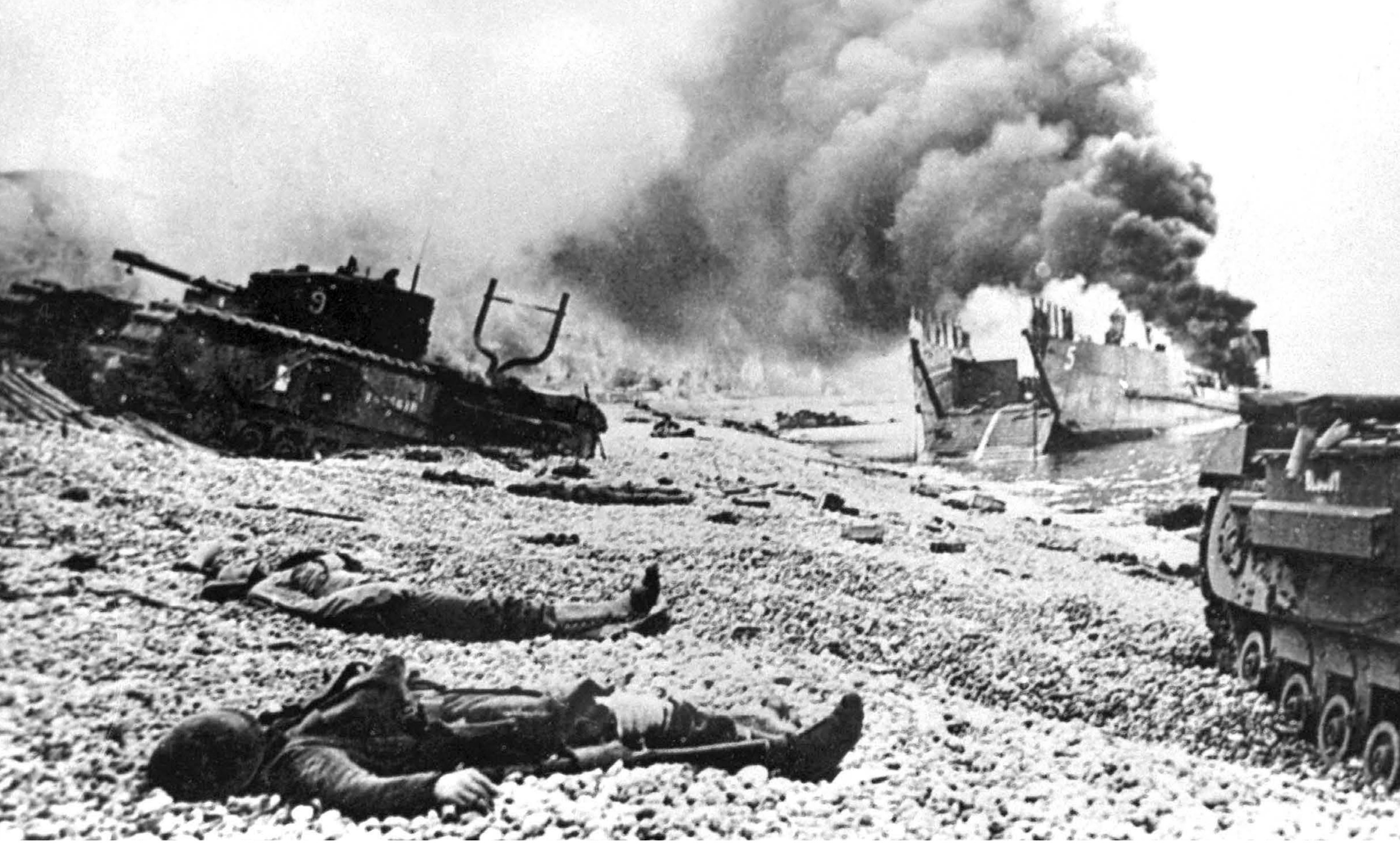
The Naval Intelligence Division — which had learned in January that some German surface vessels operating along the French channel coast had also been outfitted with the four-rotor Enigma — realized that it was only a matter of time before the entire Kriegsmarine was using it. On February 1, 1942, Doenitz gave the go-ahead for his Atlantic U-boat fleet to begin operations with the new device. It was within the atmosphere of this potential nightmare intelligence scenario that the raid on Dieppe was conceived.

Lord Louis Mountbatten as head of Allied forces in Southeast Asia, circa 1944.

Ever ambitious, "Dickie" Mountbatten was already a step ahead. With the British Army on the defensive in North Africa and in full retreat in the Far East, his force was the only one capable of mounting an offensive operation to seize vital cipher material. Not lost on him, either, were the potential political rewards that a successful pinch raid offered for both his career and his burgeoning Combined Operations empire.

After all, Mountbatten's political master, Winston Churchill, maintained an almost child-like fascination for the fruits of cryptography, having harnessed its power as First Lord of the Admiralty in the First World War. Capturing material leading to the defeat of the new four-rotor beast would have been akin to returning with the Holy Grail in the tribalistic world of Whitehall. Not only would it have proved Mountbatten's doctrine and his leadership, it would have raised his shaky profile somewhat in the eyes of British chiefs of staff. In this case, Mountbatten called upon the experience of the same planning team that had engineered the Lofoten and Vaagso pinches to lay the founda-

LIBRARAY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ALAMY



Above: The bodies of Canadian soldiers of the Calgary Regiment lie on the beach in the aftermath of Operation Jubilee.

Left: Captured Canadian soldiers march through Dieppe, France.

Right: Canadian soldiers, some of them wounded, arrive back in England following the failed raid.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

tions for a series of amphibious raids on the French coast. The first two were planned attacks on the U-boat base and dry dock at Saint-Nazaire and the harbour at Bayonne for late March, with Dieppe third in line for mid-June.

The Saint-Nazaire raid, conducted with all the reckless daring that Mountbatten could muster, succeeded in grabbing headlines by knocking out the dry dock that could house the super-battleship Tirpitz. However, it cost an entire commando unit and failed to score the needed cipher material. At Bayonne, the entire operation was abandoned at the eleventh hour when the raiding force failed to penetrate the estuary leading to the port. But, as neither raid had ended in a costly disaster, there was nothing to press Mountbatten and his staff into a hard re-examination of pinch doctrine, and future operations like Dieppe became bigger and bolder.

By this time, the impact of the four-rotor machine was being felt, as U-boats slipped from sight in the Atlantic. As feared, a sharp spike in torpedoed Allied merchant ships and oil tankers resulted. Then came news that U-boats in the Mediterranean were using the machine. These developments had direct strategic implications for the war effort and increased the pressure in the cryptographic war. This is the moment when Admiral John Godfrey noted that Dieppe became "hot" and the planning for the Dieppe raid went into overdrive. Godfrey's department produced a nearly eighty-page topographical report on the port and on the beaches eight kilometres to each side of the town. An outline plan, which was drawn from Godfrey's blueprint, called for the Royal Marine Commando, the only unit tasked with a mission at this juncture, to penetrate the port, capture vessels, and wreak havoc — all euphemistic language designed to cover the pinch.

But what made Mountbatten and British naval intelligence confident that Dieppe would deliver the goods? The French channel port had been on their radar from the time France fell, as it housed the type of vessels that utilized cutting-edge encryption machines as well as various lower-level codes and ciphers that provided "cribs" used by Bletchley Park's code breakers. Dieppe was also a main link for Kriegsmarine communication in France and housed a communications supply depot in addition to a portside naval headquarters believed to be in a hotel called the Moderne.

From the pinch perspective, Dieppe was a target-rich environment. From an operational point of view, Dieppe was a short hop across the channel and well within the limits of a combined operation where land, sea, and air elements could be brought to bear quickly and effectively. The port was small and contained. A division-sized raiding force supported by armour could certainly overtake it. In short, it was "doable."

In early May, the outline plan for Operation Rutter — later code-named Operation Jubilee — was adopted by the chiefs of staff. Detailed planning began following the doctrine of previous pinch operations. At first, Mountbatten balked at the idea of Canadian army participation, hoping that the entire Royal Marine Division would be chosen. Political considerations, however, held sway, and the Canadians were offered the job, which they eagerly agreed to take on.

Major General Hamilton "Ham" Roberts, who was selected to lead the ground element of the raid, had his hands tied from a planning perspective. His job was to put the plan into action. The Manitoba-born First World War veteran was viewed by the British as the "thruster" who would get the job done, no matter the cost. The Royal Marine Commando strike force led by decorated Commander Robert "Red" Ryder — he earned the Victoria Cross in the Saint-Nazaire raid — would still play the starring role but would work in direct co-operation with the Calgary Tanks, Essex Scottish Regiment, Royal Regiment of Canada, the Fusiliers Mont-Royal, and the Royal Canadian Engineers.

By the time the raid was finally launched on August 19, 1942 (it was postponed twice in June and July for various reasons), the plan had been streamlined based on the most optimistic interpretation of the experience gained in previous raids; but this refinement did not centre on a proper appreciation of the situation at hand. Rather, a tone of confirmation bias gave credence to Admiral Bertram Ramsay's claim of "inexperienced enthusiasts" running the show.

Paramount was the need to get a two-hundred-and-fifty-ship raiding force across the English Channel at night without the Germans noticing. Here, Mountbatten employed a double bluff ploy. He reckoned that after the cancellation of Operation Rutter in July — the Germans had discovered the raiding force in port — a remount of the raid would be seen as so unorthodox that it would catch the Germans napping.

Likewise, the use of capital ships was discounted because their sudden appearance in the English Channel was bound to draw the interest of German reconnaissance. Anti-aircraft ships stationed in the Thames were also cut, as their appearance outside their normal area of operation would certainly pique enemy curiosity. Using heavy bombers to destroy buildings along Dieppe's main beach was likewise scrubbed, as the drone of their engines and their radar signature would alert the defenders, as had happened at Saint-Nazaire. Perhaps most importantly, though, heavy bombing could have incinerated the material they came to capture, while filling the streets with rubble and preventing quick access to the port by the raiding force. Suppressive strafing runs by fighter-bombers to paralyze the defenders were employed instead.

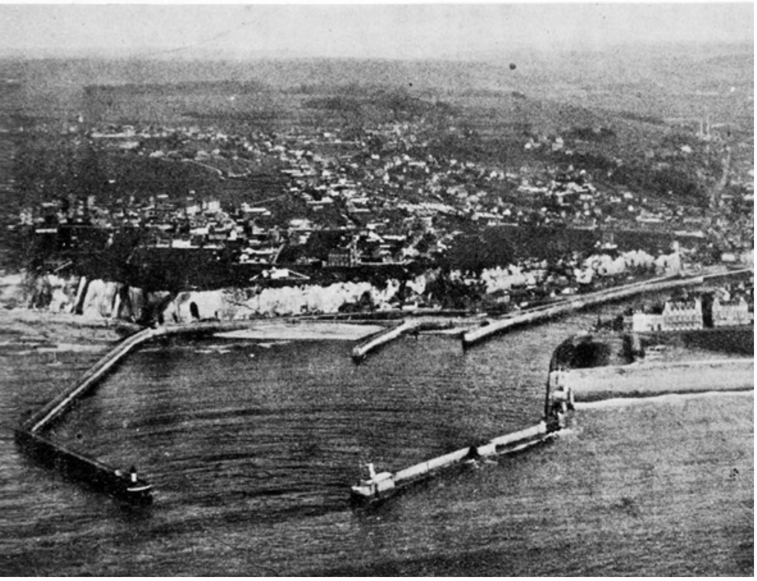
WKS
Funkleebuch
Marinenachrichtenschule

A German Enigma cipher machine with codebooks.

PHOTO COURTESY OF DAVID O'KEEFE

The pinch itself relied on an overly complex plan based on strict and inflexible timings — similar to a symphony where all musicians must be on time and on target for all the movements to succeed. The intent was to descend upon Dieppe like a thunderclap at dawn and to smother the port in crab-like fashion. First on the agenda were outer-flank attacks on gun batteries by British army commandos and the simultaneous capture by Canadian infantry of the daunting headlands that straddled Dieppe's main beach and controlled the entrance and exit to the port. The South Saskatchewan Regiment, followed by the Cameron Highlanders of Canada, would capture the west headland at Pourville and then fan out southwest to throw up a cordon sanitaire — or perimeter — to prevent German counterattacks from reaching the port. To the east, the Royal Regiment of Canada, followed by the Black Watch of Canada, would land at Puys and silence the guns atop the eastern headland. From there they would co-operate with the units landing on the main beach to create a pipeline for the pinch.

Thirty minutes after the flank attacks, a battering-ram frontal assault over the main beach would commence. Supported by naval gunfire and fighter-bomber attacks designed to sow confusion amongst the defenders, the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry (RHLI), Essex Scottish, Calgary Tanks, and Canadian Engineers would storm ashore onto the main beach, push over the promenade and through German positions, and plunge into the port to overwhelm the defenders.



Above: Boats docked at Dieppe Harbour, circa 1942.
Below: The entrance to Dieppe's port.

With the RHLI creating a cordon sanitaire past Dieppe's distinctive beachside casino, the Engineers would blow German roadblocks in the tiny streets to allow the tanks to burst into the port. There, joined by infantry from the Essex Scottish, the Calgary Tanks would silence the trawler crews and resistance around German naval headquarters to secure the cipher material. Regardless of the outcome of this phase of the attack, the Royal Marine strike force under Ryder offshore had direct orders to barrel down the channel leading into the port, come hell or high water, and to fight to the last man if necessary to capture the desired material. Once inside the port, a special unit of the Royal Marine Commando would either fight to capture the material, if not already seized, or simply gather material for extraction.

In the midst of the fight, a special boat would be sent to remove the captured intelligence booty and take it straight to Godfrey's personal assistant — Lieutenant Commander Ian Fleming of James Bond fame — who would be waiting on a command ship offshore. With the material in hand, Fleming was the anchorman in the relay who would return to the nearest British port in the quickest possible time. With that accomplished, the Engineers would carry out a systematic destruction of the port to hide the pinch before the entire force bolted home.

Of course, that all seemed good on paper, but the reality of the day was quite different.

A lack of proper contingencies in the plan hobbled it from the start. Although the British army commando attacks on the gun batteries to the flanks succeeded, bad luck and poor navigation caused delay, and the vital element of surprise in the fight for the headlands was lost. A massacre ensued for the Royal Regiment and Black Watch landing at Puys, and they failed to get the heights. At Pourville, a costly advance inland by the South Saskatchewan Regiment and the Queen's Own Camerons fell short of its objective, and the men were forced to withdraw. This left both headlands overlooking Dieppe's main beach in German hands when the frontal assault arrived.

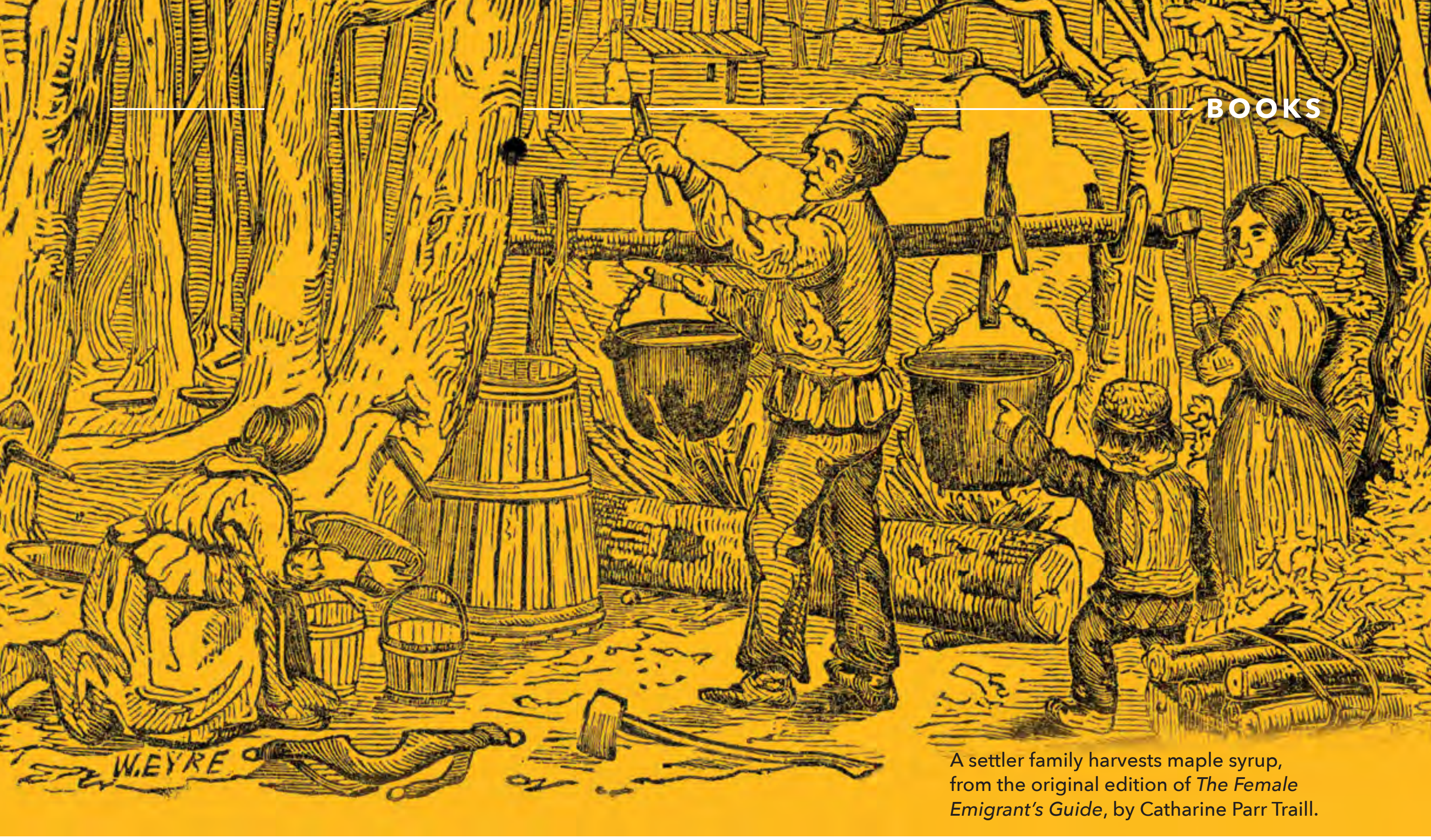
A torrent of deadly fire greeted the Essex Scottish, RHLI, Canadian Engineers, and Calgary Tanks as they landed. They were immediately pinned down on the beach, and the massacre began. Both the RHLI and Essex Scottish managed to get tiny elements into the town, but not enough to reach their objectives in force. Meanwhile, the Calgary Regiment's tanks in most cases overcame the beach and seawall but were unable to reach the port and trawlers because the Engineers, who were carrying explosives, became easy targets for German gunners. With no contingency in place to remove the roadblocks, the tanks were stuck, and the pinch began to collapse.

The Royal Marine strike force then attempted to go it alone and to breech the harbour but was twice turned back by heavy fire from the headlands. Desperate, Roberts sent in the floating reserve — the Fusiliers Mont-Royal — to support the Essex Scottish, who, he believed were only metres from the trawlers and the naval headquarters. They too suffered horribly upon landing. Finally, the Royal Marines were ordered to make a third try. Following in the footsteps of the Essex S0cottish and the Fusiliers Mont-Royal, the marines suffered the same fate. In less than six hours the raid was over, with over half of the roughly one thousand men killed losing their lives in direct pursuit of the cryptographic material.

Public relations plans had been devised well beforehand to disguise and to explain the mission, depending on the outcome. In this case they had to deal with disaster on a scale never imagined. The spin focused on the heroic exploits of Canadian, British, and other Allied servicemen, serving to blind not only the Germans but history as well. Later, excuses were offered for the raid: Dieppe was launched to test Hitler's Atlantic Wall, to placate Stalin's calls for a second front, to learn the lessons of amphibious operations to pave the way for D-Day, along other more conspiratorial suggestions.

In truth, the raid failed to achieve its main objective despite four desperate attempts. (The Allies finally got what they needed following a pinch by chance off a sinking U-boat on October 30, 1942, near Port Said, Egypt.) Although boldness and ingenuity were needed to solve the naval Enigma crisis, the desperation of the moment, coupled with Mountbatten's hubristic approach, didn't help. Given what was at stake, the risk of putting on a pinch raid was well worth taking. But certainly there should have been a less deadly way of pulling it off. In this case, they went a pinch too far.

PHOTOS COURTESY DAVID O'KEEFE



A settler family harvests maple syrup, from the original edition of *The Female Emigrant's Guide*, by Catharine Parr Traill.

OPEN BOOK

Canadian housekeeping

Catharine Parr Traill wrote about Canada even before she and her sister Susanna Moodie emigrated from England with their husbands in 1832. Traill's 1826 book The Young Emigrants *told of a fictional English family's experiences with pioneer life in Canada. Both women were writers of poetry and children's literature who married former British military officers, and both families settled in the area of what is now Peterborough, Ontario.*

Life in Canada was harder than had been anticipated, and the Traills relied in part upon the relatively meagre returns from Catharine's texts on natural history and her practical writings about colonial living, including The Female Emigrant's Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping, *first published in 1854–55.*

While reprinting the latter book and offering additional insight into the conditions faced by settler householders, Catharine Parr Traill's The Female Emigrant's Guide: Cooking with a Canadian Classic *is shaped foremost as a book of culinary history. Editors Nathalie Cooke and Fiona Lucas are both food historians and include an appendix of period recipes that have been updated so as to be "achievable dishes in today's kitchens."*

The core of the book, however, is Traill's remarkable guide for mid-nineteenth-century newcomers to Canada, and it is from there that the following excerpts have been selected.

The Female Emigrant's Guide

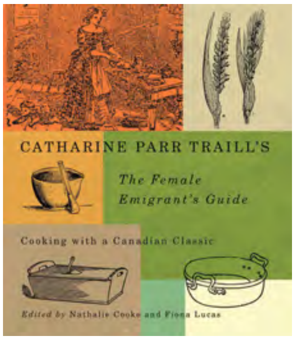
by Catharine Parr Traill

Among the many books that have been written for the instruction of the Canadian emigrant, there are none exclusively devoted for the use of the wives and daughters of the future settler, who for the most part, possess but a very vague idea of the particular duties which they are destined to undertake, and are often totally unprepared to meet the emergencies of their new mode of life.

As a general thing they are told that they must prepare their minds for some hardships and privations, and that they will have to exert themselves in a variety of ways to which they have hitherto been strangers; but the exact nature of that work, and how it is to be performed, is left untold. The consequence of this is, that the females have everything to learn, with few opportunities of acquiring the requisite knowledge, which is often obtained under circumstances, and in situations the most discouraging; while their hearts are yet filled with natural yearnings after the land of their birth, (dear even to the poorest emigrant), with grief for the friends of their early days, and while every object in this new country is strange to them. …

Having myself suffered from the disadvantage of acquiring all my knowledge of Canadian housekeeping by personal experience, and having heard other females similarly situated lament the want of some simple useful book to give them an insight into the customs and occupations incidental to a Canadian settler's life, I have taken upon me to endeavor to supply this want, and have with much labour collected such useful matter as I thought best calculated to afford the instruction required.

As even the materials differ, and the method of preparing food varies greatly between the colony and the Mother-country, I have given in this little book the most approved recipes for cooking certain dishes, the usual mode of manufacturing maple-sugar, soap, candles, bread and other articles of household expenditure; in short, whatever subject is in any way connected with the management of a Canadian settler's house, either as regards economy or profit, I have introduced into the work for the benefit of the future settler's wife and family. …


CATHARINE PARR TRAILL'S
The Female Emigrant's Guide
Cooking with a Canadian Classic
Edited by Nathalie Cooke and Fiona Lucas

Furnishing [a] log house.

In furnishing a Canadian log-house the main study should be to unite simplicity with cheapness and comfort. It would be strangely out of character to introduce gay, showy, or rich and costly articles of furniture into so rough and homely a dwelling. A log-house is better to be simply furnished. Those who begin with moderation are more likely to be able to increase their comforts in the course of a few years. …

The shanty, or small log-house of the poorer emigrant, is often entirely furnished by his own hands. A rude bedstead, formed of cedar poles, a coarse linen bag filled with hay or dried moss, and bolster of the same, is the bed he lies on; his seats are benches, nailed together; a table of deal boards, a few stools, a few shelves for the crockery and tinware; these are often all that the poor emigrant can call his own in the way of furniture. Little enough and rude enough. Yet let not the heart of the wife despond. It is only the first trial; better things are in store for her.

Many an officer's wife, and the wives of Scotch and English gentlemen, in the early state of the colony have been no better off.—Many a wealthy landowner in Canada was born in circumstances as unfavourable. …

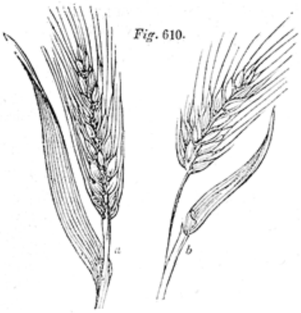
Remarks of security of person and property in Canada.

There is one thing which can hardly fail to strike an emigrant from the Old Country, on his arrival in Canada. It is this,—The feeling of complete security which he enjoys, whether in his own dwelling or in his journeys abroad through the land. He sees no fear—he need see none. He is not in a land spoiled and robbed, where every man's hand is against his fellow—where envy and distrust beset him on every side. …

[H]e is in a country where the inhabitants are essentially honest, because they are enabled, by the exertion of their own hands, to obtain in abundance the necessaries of life. Does it not also prove to him that it is the miseries arising from poverty that induce crime.—Men do not often violate the law of honesty, unless driven to do so by necessity. …

A few remarks about beer.

There is nothing that the new settler complains more feelingly of, than the want of good beer and ale. Nobody brews beer in their own homes in Canada. Beer can be got in all towns, it is true; but it is not, the emigrants say, like the sweet, well-flavoured, home-brewed beer of the English farmhouses. … I feel assured that if there were more private families who brewed beer, there would be a thousandfold less whisky drunk in this colony. As there is no prohibition in Canada, against people malting their own barley, I think it would be wise for every farmer to grow a small quantity of this useful grain, and learn the practice of malting it: they might not perhaps, produce at first, as fine a flavoured malt as what they had been accustomed to purchase at home, from the malster; but one that would supply them with a very palatable beer, and at a very little cost…. … During the very hot weather, some cooling and strengthening beverage is much required by men who have to work out in the heat of the sun; and the want of it is often supplied by whisky diluted with water, or by cold water, which, when drunk in large quantities, is dangerous to the health, and should, if possible, be avoided. …



Maple-sugar.

This little volume would be incomplete unless it contained some instruction on the making of maple sugar….

With the assistance of the children and the females of the house, a settler may, if he have a good sugar bush, make several hundred weight of sugar in a season, besides molasses and vinegar. Many a stout boy of fourteen or fifteen, with the aid of the mother and young ones, has made sugar enough to supply the family, besides selling a large quantity. In the backwoods the women do the chief of the sugar making; it is rough work, and fitter for men; but Canadians think little of that. I have seen women employed in stronger work than making sugar. I have seen women under-brushing, and even helping to lay up and burn a fallow, and it grieved me, for it was unfit for them. …

Maple syrup.

This beautiful addition to the table is simply a portion of the syrup, taken out when it begins to thicken to the consistency of virgin honey. It sells at nine pence or ten pence a-quart readily; if for use in your own family, boil it rather longer, and cork it tight, setting it by in a cool cellar to keep it from fermentation. It is used as sauce for pancakes, puddings, and to eat with bread. ...

Maple sugar sweeties.

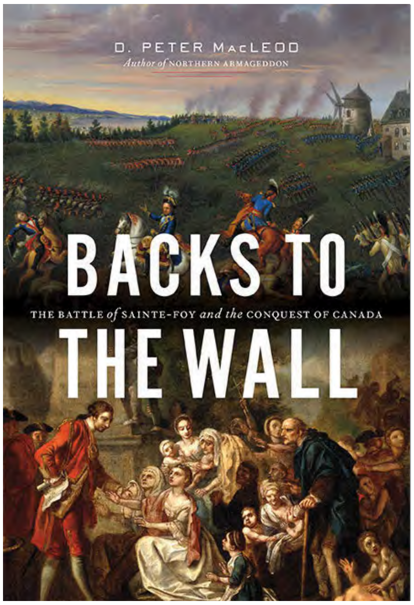
When sugaring off, take a little of the thickest syrup into a saucer, stir in a very little fine flour, and a small bit of butter, and flavor with essence of lemon, peppermint, or ginger, as you like best; when cold, cut into little bricks about an inch in length. This makes a cheap treat for the little ones. By melting down a piece of maple sugar, and adding a bit of butter, and flavouring, you can always give them sweeties, if you think proper to allow them indulgencies of this sort. …

Black squirrels.
These little animals are often found in great numbers, in the beech and oak-woods in Canada, and are considered very delicate food; being free from any strong flavour. They are roasted like rabbits, or cut in pieces and fried, fricasseed, or made into stews or pies. Some people object to them, simply because they have not been accustomed to see them brought to table, or even to hear of their being used as an article of food, and others consider them as insipid. This last objection is, perhaps, the most weighty; but by seasoning them well, it may be overcome. Nothing can be more cleanly than the habits of these little creatures; their food consisting entirely of grain, or fruits, or vegetables. When fresh meat is scarce, as it often is in the woods, the black and even the red squirrel may be eaten, as a wholesome change of diet. …

Knitting.
There is no country where there is so much knitting-work done as in Canada, for when the household of the settler is supplied with socks, stockings, mitts, and gauntlets (these are long, thick mitts, that come halfway up the arm, and are used in driving), the surplus yarn meets with ready sale at the stores when manufactured into socks, &c. Men's socks sell at one shilling and six pence to two shillings and three pence, according to their goodness: the best article in Canada, as elsewhere, fetches the best price. The second or even third-rate wool, knitted up, can be made more profitable than the best wool sold in the fleece; and children and women will earn many a dollar if they are industrious, in the evening, between twilight and candle-light. …

The earlier children learn to knit, the better; those who learn late in life, seldom acquire the same quickness, as those who learn in childhood. I have myself experienced the disadvantage of not learning this sort of work till I was old, and my finger joints had lost their flexibility, consequently I am a slow and unskilful knitter: I can hardly shape a sock or a stocking.

From Catharine Parr Traill's The Female Emigrant's Guide: Cooking with a Canadian Classic, *edited by Nathalie Cooke and Fiona Lucas. Reprinted with permission of McGill-Queen's University Press (2017).*


D. PETER MacLEOD
Author of NORTHERN ARMAGEDDON
BACKS TO THE WALL
THE BATTLE of SAINTE-FOY and the CONQUEST OF CANADA

END GAME

Backs to the Wall: The Battle of Sainte-Foy and the Conquest of Canada

by D. Peter MacLeod
Douglas & McIntyre,
271 pages, $34.95

Every student of Canadian history learns at one time or another that in September 1759 the British led by James Wolfe defeated the French under the command of Louis-Joseph de Montcalm at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. For all intents and purposes, Wolfe's victory marked the end of the French empire in North America, which was confirmed four years later by the Treaty of Paris negotiated at the conclusion of the Seven Years War. These events and decisions had lasting consequences for the French-speaking inhabitants of Quebec and their First Nations allies.

But history is rarely as neat and tidy as the textbooks might have it. While the French were indeed beaten in 1759 — "a day that I'd like to forget for the rest of my life," remarked one French captain who had fought in the battle — the fight was in fact not quite done. French military leaders, including the clever and courageous François-Gaston de Lévis, who replaced Montcalm, were confident that they could still drive the British out of Quebec. Indeed, in Lévis's view, the so-called decisive battle of 1759 had not settled anything.

Creatively utilizing an array of primary source material, D. Peter MacLeod, the pre-Confederation historian at the Canadian War Museum, takes us back to the late fall of 1759 and the beginning of 1760 to carefully chronicle the French attempt to undo the British occupation. The fact that this military effort was ultimately not successful does not detract from the importance or suspense of the story MacLeod skilfully tells, or from the fact that painting history in broad strokes often misses significant details in determining how past events unfolded.

Central to MacLeod's narrative are the events leading up to the Battle of Sainte-Foy, close to Quebec City, at the end of April 1760 — a battle the French won. In the months after the confrontation on the Plains of Abraham, the British, under the command of James Murray and headquartered at the Quebec garrison, were in rough shape. Without proper provisions of fruits and vegetables, more than 650 British soldiers succumbed to the ravages of scurvy. The British were weak and demoralized, but they still controlled the heavy guns mounted on the walls of Quebec and all the other artillery that once belonged to the French.

In the spring of 1760, Murray and Lévis, both dealing with an assortment of problems of manpower, weapons, and the absence of their respective navies, were locked in a dangerous game of chess. When the two men and their respective troops finally faced off at the Battle of Sainte-Foy on April 28, 1760, Lévis, assisted by French-Canadian militia and First Nations, came out on top.

The all-but-forgotten French victory, asserts MacLeod, was "a remarkable feat of arms, arguably the greatest single military achievement of the Seven Years War in North America." Yet it was not enough. The French in North America, lacking naval support and receiving little help from France — which was fighting with the British and Prussians across Europe and Asia — could not retake the Quebec garrison and other occupied territory. British warships based in the Thirteen Colonies were able to reach Quebec in time and made all the difference. "We are," wrote Lévis in late June, "no longer able to remain in the field, lacking provisions, munitions, and generally everything. It's amazing that we manage to survive at all." Quebec, and with it New France, was truly lost to the British for good.

History is full of what-ifs. Following the French success at Sainte-Foy, had Lévis and his men somehow attained a second victory at Quebec, who knows what would have transpired or how the terms of the Treaty of Paris might have been altered. This type of "alternative history" seems "absurd," MacLeod concedes. From our perspective more than 250 years later, the events of 1759–60 are seemingly "engraved in stone."

But up close, as MacLeod suggests, history is "considerably more fragile." In 1760, he points out, "the future remained a world of unknown possibilities and opportunities, and Canadian militia, French soldiers, and the Seven Nations warriors expended a great deal of effort to shape what is to us our fixed and unchanging past."

Reviewed by **Allan Levine**, a Winnipeg historian and writer whose most recent book is *Toronto: Biography of a City*.

New from University of Toronto Press

Canada's Odyssey
A Country Based on Incomplete Conquests
by Peter H. Russell
In *Canada's Odyssey,* renowned scholar Peter H. Russell provides an expansive, accessible account of Canadian history from the pre-Confederation period to the present day.

Homelands and Empires
Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690–1763
by Jeffers Lennox
This book highlights how Indigenous peoples, imperial forces, and settlers competed for space in northeastern North America before the British conquest in 1763.

Spying on Canadians
The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service and the Origins of the Long Cold War
by Gregory S. Kealey
Spying on Canadians depicts a nation caught up in the Red Scare in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution and tangled up with the imperial interests of the UK and the US.

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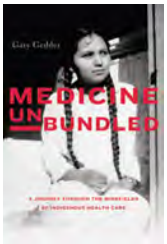
Advancing Knowledge

PATERNALISTIC LEGACY

Medicine Unbundled: A Journey through the Minefields of Indigenous Health Care

by Gary Geddes
Heritage House, 319 pages, $22.95



When Gary Geddes returned from his research for his book *Drink the Bitter Root: A Writer's Search for Redemption and Healing in Africa*, he attended the 2012 Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings in Victoria. There he met a Songhees elder, named Joan Morris, who had a story that would, in his words, "change my life and determine my path for several years." That path led to *Medicine Unbundled: A Journey through the Minefields of Indigenous Health Care*.

The nucleus of the book is Morris's account of her mother's institutionalization for seventeen years at British Columbia's Nanaimo Indian Hospital, as well as Morris's own experiences of racism in the Canadian health system. After hearing her story, Geddes travelled from his home on Thetis Island off the coast of Vancouver Island to Victoria, Edmonton, Whitehorse, Yukon, Regina, and Ottawa to meet with other Indigenous elders. The elders shared their experiences of various Indian hospitals in the country as well as contemporary encounters with Canadian medicine.

In *Medicine Unbundled*, Geddes reflects on his changing understanding of Canadian identity and history, as well as his privilege and positionality. He critically examines the poets he admired growing up, such as Duncan Campbell Scott, now recognized as the chief architect of the residential school system, and Earle Birney, who said Canada had no "ghosts." Geddes also unpacks what he sees as some of Margaret Atwood's erasures of Indigenous peoples and histories in her earlier works.

Geddes connects these parts of mainstream Canadian culture and literature with segregated health care, the Sixties Scoop, residential schools, and the resettlement of the West. As he argues, world views from the mid-1800s gave birth to the paternalistic policies of the twentieth century, and they continue to impact both government actions and what happens in emergency rooms.

In *Medicine Unbundled*, Geddes notes that our national narrative doesn't jive with genocide and racism, so evidence of this "is either ignored or dismissed as the work of a few bad apples." But, as he and others are showing through this type of work, our history involved not only rotten fruit but systemic racism.

An award-winning author of poetry, memoirs, travelogues, and literary criticism, Geddes weaves all these genres into a series of "dispatches," as he calls them. The chapters zigzag through different styles and forms, but the reader is rewarded with an impression of having travelled a long distance without having worked too hard. Geddes' accessible style and thoughtful ruminations keep the narrative flowing like a canoe pointed downstream, even as it eddies in side pools from time to time.

Newcomers to these topics — especially casual readers — will discover a welcome overview, while seasoned researchers will find ample food for thought, a thorough bibliography and notes, and an index.

The oral histories from Indigenous elders take up a smaller percentage of the book than expected, but they are still incredibly powerful — and, at times, damning — as they call out abuse, neglect, and cover-ups within church and government.

Even so, Geddes moves beyond exposé and polemic to self-reflection and a deeper understanding of himself and Canada. As he says in his introduction, these histories are like the sacred items found in a medicine bundle, and sharing them "provides a way of releasing that hope and its healing powers." Like Geddes in this book, we all need to receive these long-buried truths, let them challenge us and our ideas, and find ways to heal through reconciliation.

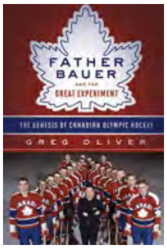
Reviewed by **Danielle Metcalfe-Chenail**, the former historian laureate of Edmonton and the author and editor of several books, including *In This Together: Fifteen Stories of Truth and Reconciliation*.

BALANCED ATTACK

Father Bauer and the Great Experiment: The Genesis of Canadian Olympic Hockey

by Greg Oliver

ECW Press, 320 pages, $32.95



Greg Oliver's *Father Bauer and the Great Experiment* tells two intertwined stories. On one hand, it is a biography of Hockey Hall of Fame member Father David Bauer. Born in Kitchener, Ontario, in 1929, Bauer was a noted hockey talent in his younger days but turned down the opportunity to play professionally in order to join the priesthood. His older brother Bobby, also a member of the Hockey Hall of Fame, starred as a part of the Boston Bruins' "Kraut Line."

While joining the clergy brought his playing days to an end, David Bauer turned his attention to coaching and mentoring student athletes at his alma mater, St. Michael's College School in Toronto. Noted for his emphasis on balancing athletics with student players' scholastic responsibilities, he led the team to a Memorial Cup victory in 1961. The team was a veritable junior hockey powerhouse but was disbanded the following year, when it became apparent that league demands would make it increasingly difficult for players to maintain the necessary balance.

In 1962 Bauer transferred to St. Mark's College, a theological school affiliated with the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. This is where the second component of the book emerges, as it picks up the story of the creation of Canada's national hockey team. As it stood, Canada's entries in the annual world championships and the quadrennial Winter Olympics were the defending Allan Cup champions — recipients of the prize awarded to the country's top senior hockey club. With these amateur teams struggling against the rapidly improving entries from Europe, which often featured professional players, Bauer concluded that it would be in Canada's best interests to create a national team that would train year-round and represent the country at international competitions. This idea was accepted by the governing Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, and in 1962 Bauer was given the Herculean task of assembling and running the team.

Here the book's focus shifts to the many players who joined the national program over the next eighteen years. They were, in many respects, a ragtag group, made up of collegiate athletes, prospects who valued spending time playing for their country before turning pro, and occasional last-minute call-ups who would help the team out of a jam. Oliver writes in an engaging fashion, and his book features the voices of many of the national team's former members. These include Ken Dryden, who suited up for two games following the conclusion of his collegiate career, before going on to great success in the National Hockey League.

Before Bauer's death in 1988, he made it clear that he didn't want to be posthumously lionized. Oliver nonetheless provides an interesting glimpse into the life of one of Canada's remarkable, if overlooked, hockey figures. At the same time, his book is great for fans of international hockey — not only because it tells the origin story of the national team but also because it highlights the often-contemptuous relationship between European members of the International Ice Hockey Federation, including the group's long-time president John "Bunny" Ahearne, and Canadian officials.

Hockey, for better or worse, is in a very different position than it was in the early 1960s. The NHL has grown tremendously from a league of six teams, and today's teams ice lineups with not only Canadian- and American-born players but also a broad complement of Europeans. International tournaments typically feature best-versus-best lineups comprised entirely of professionals. As *Father Bauer and the Great Experiment* reminds us, these are fairly recent innovations. Oliver's book lets us learn about yesteryear, when the Maple Leaf was proudly worn by amateurs whose love of sport and country was matched only by the Basilian Father behind the bench.

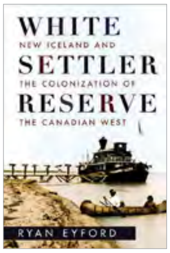
Reviewed by **Ryan O'Connor**, a writer, a historical consultant, and the author of the J.J. Talman Award-winning *The First Green Wave: Pollution Probe and the Origins of Environmental Activism in Ontario* (UBC Press).

LIBERAL IMMIGRATION

White Settler Reserve: New Iceland and the Colonization of the Canadian West

by Ryan Eyford

UBC Press, 271 pages, $32.95



In a mad rush to settle the "untamed" West following the Hudson's Bay Company's surrender of Rupert's Land and the creation of Manitoba, the federal government began a systematic, albeit at times misguided, attempt to populate this newly acquired territory with "desirables." At the same time the government shunted Indigenous peoples, both First Nations and those of mixed race, onto reserve lands following the signing of the numbered treaties and the passing of the Manitoba Act.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the reserving of land was not limited to our contemporary understanding; besides being a destination for Indigenous peoples, reserves were also a means of setting aside large swaths of land for desired immigrants. In *White Settler Reserve*, University of Winnipeg history professor Ryan Eyford offers a complex argument regarding Canada's intentions in terms of colonization and how the immigrant reserve system was critical to creating the sense of a liberal nation-state project in the West. Additionally, Eyford performs a number of conceptual analyses designed to lead readers to think historically about notions of liberalism, race, settlement, and colonization.

By 1875, the federal government was fully committed to attracting people it thought of as appropriate settlers to the region that is now Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. And it acted on the idea that keeping immigrants and Indigenous peoples separated via reserves would keep relative peace following the then-recent turmoil in Red River and ongoing unrest further west. Eyford carefully constructs a history of this reserve system, specifically by delving into the shared experience of the Icelandic reserve on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg. He explains Canada's attraction to Icelandic settlers and the situation that sparked a mass emigration on the part of these northern mariners.

The Icelanders who ventured to New Iceland suffered terribly at first due to disease, poverty, and — according to the Canadian government — a lack of fortitude and the attributes needed to settle this part of the world. The federal government had initially targeted Icelanders based on the assumption that, as northerners who were white, they would be easily adaptable to life in the Canadian West. Nothing, presumably, could have been further from the truth. Faced with what might have been a complete disaster, the government of the day eventually felt some responsibility in providing basic care for these poor immigrants.

Most high-ranking Canadian officials of the time regarded liberalism as part of their approach to settling the Northwest, and they targeted newcomers who, Eyford writes, "could contribute the maximum amount of productive and reproductive labour while at the same time being amenable to the assumptions about gender, race, class, and religion that policy makers took for granted as the hallmarks of modern, progressive civilization." Liberalism worked, if you were part of the club.

Two reserve systems co-existed in the West with the same goal in mind — imperial progress. The immigrant reserve system allocated land to those who were deemed desirable, and the Indian reserve system was essentially a land grab in the name of progress. Eyford's history speaks to those who fell through the cracks and to the improbable success of New Iceland. Critical companions to his work would include James Daschuk's *Clearing the Plains* and Joseph Boyden's *Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont*, which help to paint a picture of the dynamics in the late nineteenth-century North-West Territories.

Despite the depth and complexity of his argument, Eyford gracefully articulates the nuances of the region at the end of the nineteenth century and provides an opportunity for reflection both by those of us who currently occupy this territory and by those who have had their land occupied. As such, *White Settler Reserve* is an essential wedge in the conversation related to reconciliation, immigration, and the connection between land and identity.

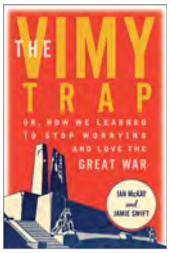
Reviewed by **Matt Henderson**, principal of Maples Met School in Winnipeg.

INTERPRETATIVE QUAGMIRE

The Vimy Trap: or, How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War

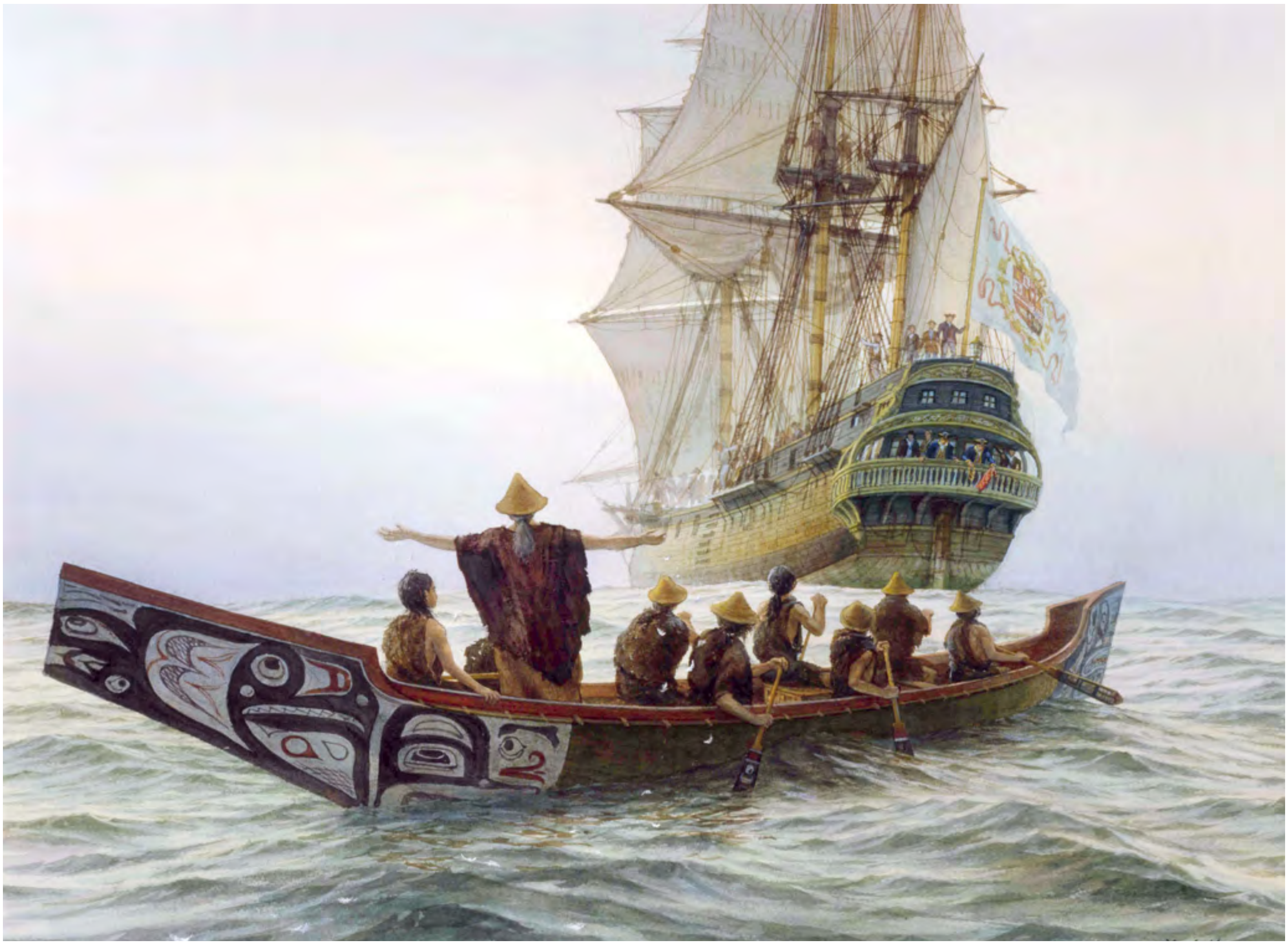
by Ian McKay and Jamie Swift

Between the Lines, 384 pages, $29.95



The *Vimy Trap*, from historians Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, is a biting critique of how Canadians remember the First World War. Set against the backdrop of the citizenship guide that was relaunched in 2011 by the federal government of Stephen Harper, the book seeks to explore and to dismantle how Canadians view the war.

"By the second decade of the twenty-first century, Vimy had become Canada's national fable," the authors explain. "Particularly under the reign of the Harper Conservatives, through carefully selected words and images, the Canadian state worked overtime to re-enchant Canadians about the



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ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME This image by Mark Meyers portrays a July 1774 encounter between Spanish navigator Juan Pérez aboard the frigate *Santiago* and local people in spectacular canoes off the tip of Langara Island in today's Haida Gwaii. It's one of many colourful images and maps that are reproduced in the lavishly illustrated book *A Perfect Eden: Encounters by Early Explorers of Vancouver Island*, by Michael Layland (TouchWood Editions, 254 pages, $39.95). This is the first confirmed meeting of Europeans with the Indigenous people of what is now Canada's West Coast. The latter, who had come out to trade with the visitors, greeted them by sprinkling eagle down upon the sea.

war — to encourage us to remember it as a time of gallant mounted cavalrymen, determined macho generals, submissive women, and undivided national purpose."

Unlike Canadians today, McKay and Swift argue, Canadians in the postwar period overwhelmingly rejected the militarism of the First World War. The idea that Canada was "born" at Vimy Ridge and that it was a heroic battle, hallmarks of the "Vimy trap," are more recent conceptions that bear little connection to the reality of the Western Front.

"If the very people who had fought the war no longer believed in it, or in the social and political order in whose name it had supposedly been fought — then any notion of it as the inspiring myth of the nation was in trouble."

The Vimy Trap raises a number of important critiques, and the story or myth of Vimy Ridge should be open for discussion and debate. The narrative of Vimy too often overwhelms the story of the First World War in Canada. Likewise, Canadian military history and remembrance activities would benefit from a more international approach and perspective.

But *The Vimy Trap* isn't really about any of that at its core. The book's argument is based almost entirely on the work of other historians, with limited new research. For instance, the authors' very valid critique of Pierre Berton's *Vimy* is drawn almost entirely from the excellent collection of essays *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, published in 2010.

While the book often references and borrows from exceptional international historians — such as Jay Winter, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, and Joanna Bourke — it rarely takes time to draw out these discussions. There is little attempt to untangle the similarities between Winter's work and that of Canadian historian Jonathan Vance.

For all the talk about how the traditional Canadian narratives avoid dissenting voices, very little evidence is offered from francophone, Indigenous, and other diverse communities. Even the simple task of juxtaposing the battles of Vimy Ridge and Beaumont-Hamel would have provided an important example from a Canadian context.

Many chapters are constructed around compelling but limited sources. The chapter "Wartime Photos on Display: The Wounds of Memory and the Push for Peace" explores how Canadians in the 1930s understood the First World War based on the publication of series of photos in the 1934 by the *Toronto Star* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*. The authors then proceed to gauge the impact of these photos almost exclusively by citing letters published in the same newspapers. While discussing the photo story the authors remark, "The Great War had taught, or should have taught, humanity that the abolition of war was an urgent priority." In that small distinction between "had" and "should" lays that quagmire of the First World War's understanding, and that's where the authors find themselves struggling.

Writing twenty years ago in his work *Death So Noble* (which is heavily criticized in *The Vimy Trap*), Vance responded to a similar critique. "To make such an argument is to misconstrue the past," he explains. "It is to assume that, simply because we judge the First World War to have been an appalling slaughter, people who lived through it must have judged it that way. This is clearly an assumption that the historian cannot make."

The authors of *The Vimy Trap* ask readers to disregard the depth of scholarship on this topic in exchange for the persuasive but limited evidence they present in this book. Just as importantly, in attempting to make their argument by lining up almost every act of remembrance and commemoration behind the views of the former Harper government, or the likes of Don Cherry, McKay and Swift misconstrue present-day Canadian assessments of Vimy Ridge and the First World War. There are, in fact, many historians, museums, teachers, and students working to create meaningful and thoughtful remembrance activities that do not fall victim to the "unrelenting Vimyism" the authors perceive all around them.

Reviewed by **Joel Ralph**, the director of programs for Canada's History Society.

MORE BOOKS

Susanna Moodie: Roughing It in the Bush

by Patrick Crowe and Carol Shields,
Illustrated by Selena Goulding
Second Story Press, 152 pages, $22.95

SUSANNA MOODIE

The graphic novel *Susanna Moodie: Roughing it in the Bush* offers a vivid view of a remarkable woman and of the lives of early nineteenth-century pioneers.

The project began as a screenplay and involved a collaboration between co-authors Patrick Crowe and Carol Shields. The latter had a lifelong interest in Moodie, who had been the subject of her master's thesis. After Shields' death in 2003, Crowe wasn't motivated to continue the project — but he eventually found new inspiration in the area of interactive graphic novels. Willow Dawson adapted the screenplay, and Selena Goulding spent eighteen months working on the illustrations.

The book's glossy pages are rich in colour, and the artwork is quite expressive. Goulding intuitively captures Moodie's evolution from an attractive, relatively sheltered wife through the events that challenged her physically and mentally. The lines in her face grow with each test of character.

Crowe tells readers that Shields intended to deliver a dramatic arc to Moodie's story, and psychological truths therefore triumph over historical truths. For those who are excited by illustrated histories, *Susanna Moodie* will not disappoint. — *Tanja Hütter*

Nobody Here Will Harm You: Mass Medical Evacuation from the Eastern Arctic, 1950–1965

by Shawn Selway
Wolsak & Wynn, 280 pages, $25

Shawn Selway
NOBODY HERE WILL HARM YOU

Nobody Here Will Harm You investigates the mass medical evacuation of thousands of people from Indigenous communities in the Arctic to southern hospitals and sanatoriums in cities such as Hamilton in the mid-twentieth century.

In the book, millwright and historical machinery consultant Shawn Selway examines the views and actions of doctors, nurses, politicians, and members of Inuit communities in response to the spread of tuberculosis. Notably, he considers their decisions and perspectives within broader socio-political frameworks and within the context of the Canadian colonial project, a long-standing, country-wide undertaking marked by government interventions that included the establishment of residential schools.

While examining this dark chapter of history, Selway grapples with how to address the ongoing legacy of these evacuations. He notes in his introduction that "the anxiety and loneliness occasioned by sudden and prolonged separation reverberated for decades," prompting readers to consider the impact the past continues to have on the Canadian health care system and on Canada's relationship with northern Indigenous communities.

His thoughtful yet accessible study, peppered with visual and textual references to archival research and records, will capture the attention of readers who are interested by this lesser-known but significant episode in Canadian history. — *Joanne DeCosse*

Time Travel: Tourism and the Rise of the Living History Museum in Mid-Twentieth-Century Canada

by Alan Gordon
UBC Press, 372 pages, $34.95

Family Ties: Living History in Canadian House Museums

by Andrea Terry
McGill-Queen's University Press,
264 pages, $44.95

TIME TRAVEL

Family Ties

Museums are in a state of constant change. They have moved from the Victorian cabinets of curiosities to more sophisticated sites that offer storylines, reconstructions, and films. In recent years, Canadians have been able to access virtual museums and museums of ideas — those with few artifacts and based around organizational concepts. Nonetheless, there is a desire in almost all history museums to retain a sense of authenticity. This is not Disneyland. The truth matters in museums. And yet the truth, of course, is always contested.

Alan Gordon's fine book *Time Travel* explores the rise of living history museums in Canada from the mid-twentieth century. Through animators and reconstructed historical sites, these new museums hoped to bring life to dead history.

Gordon's deeply researched book will become a classic in the field of cultural policy and museum studies. His exploration of Louisbourg, Upper Canada Village, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, and many other living history sites tells us much about how Canadians desired to recreate the past in a changing and modernizing world. Gordon also unpacks the intersection of tourism, regional development, and the challenges of historical reconstruction (such as picking a time period in which to place historical animators for sites that span decades or centuries).

Andrea Terry's *Family Ties* is a more limited book. She examines three historic houses that are now museum sites: Dundurn Castle in Hamilton, William Lyon Mackenzie House in Toronto, and Sir George-Étienne Cartier National Historic Site in Montreal. Terry skilfully analyses how artifacts, programming, and animators infuse the stories told in these spaces, as well as how the past is actively reshaped in the present.

While Gordon's *Time Travel* is an easy read underpinned by research into several archives, Terry's work is steeped in theoretical discussions where the reader is subjected to page after page of quotes from other scholars. Some of these discussions burden the story, and the reviewer wished for a broader study that included well-known and contested history sites like Riel House in Winnipeg, Bellevue House in Kingston, Ontario (where Sir John A. Macdonald lived), or Laurier House in Ottawa.

These living history sites and historical houses are places where the past is performed. Yet with tourism dollars driving many of these museums — hence Gordon's clever title — the history is often sanitized, even sanctified. Visitors do not encounter eighteenth- or nineteenth-century living history actors dying from a runaway infection that cannot be treated in an age before antibiotics.

In this new century of social media-driven news and events, where everyone is connected and at the same time disconnected, these sites, houses, and museums allow us to return to a quieter time, to marvel at how the past was (or how we think it was), and to visit, if temporarily, a different way of life — some of which is familiar, while other parts are foreign. *— Tim Cook*

Gold Rush Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Nellie Cashman

by Thora Kerr Illing
TouchWood Editions, 223 pages, $18.95

Gold Rush Queen
Thora Kerr Illing

To say that Nellie Cashman led an extraordinary life is putting it mildly. Working in a time and in occupations dominated by men, Nellie was a successful businesswoman and prospector. From Canada's Far North to the southern United States, she had an eye for opportunity and followed where it led her.

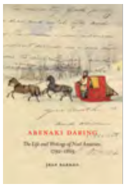
Gold Rush Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Nellie Cashman is an entertaining and informative read. Emigrating from Ireland to escape the famine, Cashman and her mother and sister initially settled in Boston. They eventually headed west to San Francisco, where Nellie was first bitten by the prospecting bug. From there, she was always moving on to where she thought the next boom would happen; she bought and sold businesses ranging from restaurants, to boarding houses, to mining ventures.

One winter in the Arctic, Cashman led a team of men on a dangerous journey to bring supplies to miners trapped by the weather and suffering from scurvy. The team arrived in time to save many of the men, and she became known as the "Angel of the Cassiar." In her later travels, she became friends with some well-known personalities, including the Earp brothers and "Doc" Holliday.

Gold Rush Queen author Thora Kerr Illing is a former journalist and librarian who herself emigrated to Canada from the United Kingdom The book offers a well-researched glimpse into the life of a remarkable woman who wasn't afraid of taking chances. *— Danielle Chartier*

Abenaki Daring: The Life and Writings of Noel Annance, 1792–1869

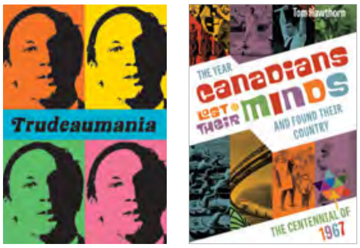
by Jean Barman
McGill-Queen's University Press,
400 pages, $39.95



Jean Barman's book *Abenaki Daring: The Life and Writings of Noel Annance, 1792–1869* provides a fascinating glimpse into the experiences of a man whose career and whose life as an Indigenous person and as a proclaimed "gentleman" dared to challenge the exclusion he faced within the context of the developing Dominion. As Annance reflected towards the end of his life, all of his education and training could never make up for what he called "the crime of being an 'Indian.'"

Abenaki Daring challenges those who would see the history of Indigenous exclusion as beginning with legislation passed after Confederation. It places Annance's life within the context of society's rejection of Indigenous people, as well as within his own personal reflections.

Carefully researched and featuring many of Annance's original writings, *Abenaki Daring* is an important and timely study about being Indigenous and about identity and colonialism. *— Karine Duhamel*



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Former Fort Hope First Nation Chief Charlie Okeese looks over the mining claims for the Ring of Fire project.

THE CANADIAN PRESS

Conversation starter

Indigenous historians offer valuable insights on Canada's past. It's time to listen to them.

Who gets to define Canadian history? Last May, Canadian writers took sides in a passionate debate about "appropriation of voice." Novelists and journalists insisted on their freedom to write whatever they pleased. They said freedom of speech was in peril.

This debate about appropriating the voices of marginalized people also urgently concerns Canadian history and historians.

In May, I also read Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne's leaked warning to the nine chiefs of the Matawa First Nations in far-northwestern Ontario. The province could delay no longer, Wynne said, on an all-weather road to give mining companies access to the so-called "Ring of Fire," an area of the James Bay Lowlands rich in chromite and nickel. If the chiefs, as a group, would not agree to her "weeks, not months" timetable (Wynne faces an election in 2018), the province would negotiate individually with those nations who want the project.

Wynne's statement was just one small incident in a long struggle, and I am no expert on these matters. Like most Ontarians, I have never been near the Ring of Fire.

But even from southern Ontario, I know enough about the history of Treaty 9, the one that covers northern Ontario, to know that when the First Nations there — like others elsewhere — agreed to share that land, they intended to run their own affairs and to control the resources vital to their survival. They did not authorize mining roads to be built by outsiders without local consent.

> 'There is no knowledge! Even at the government level ... there is absolutely no knowledge of treaties.'
>
> – David Paul Achneepineskum

That was not a history that Wynne and her team seemed to know at all.

Recently, I talked with David Paul Achneepineskum. He has worked on self-government and resource issues since he was a kid at Marten Falls on Ontario's Albany River. Today he is CEO of the council of chiefs in the Ring of Fire region. After forty years of effort, he says, "there is no knowledge! Even at the government level, with senior bureaucrats and middle management, there is absolutely no knowledge of treaties. So there is no will at the political level to talk about treaties."

Canada has committed itself to following the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but real progress on reconciliation depends on Indigenous people being able to run their own affairs and to control the resources to make that possible. "We are all treaty people," First Nations leaders say. But many non-Indigenous Canadians, even ones in positions of power, hardly seem to have heard that message.

There is a profound challenge for history and historians here. Many fine historical scholars study Indigenous issues in Canadian history. Jim Millar, Sarah Carter, and Arthur Ray come to mind, as do Indigenous scholars such as Blair Stonechild and Georges Sioui.

Materials are at hand via which we can inform ourselves about treaty relationships, residential schools, violence against Indigenous women, and other vital public policy questions. *Canada's History* magazine includes more Indigenous history now than ever, while last fall's Canada's History Forum focused on Indigenous history in partnership with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. But Wynne's recent statement suggests understanding of these vital questions is hardly widespread.

So are journalists and novelists — and historians — free to write what we please?

We are. But experience suggests that freedom to imagine "Indians" has mostly given us what historian Daniel Francis has called "The Imaginary Indian." We need more Indigenous history of Canada. It will be more powerful and more persuasive when more of it is researched, written, and presented by Indigenous historians — scholars who know their own traditions and issues.

Christopher Moore comments in every issue of *Canada's History*.

An Amelia Earhart statue in Harbour Grace, Newfoundland and Labrador, and photos of Earhart's 1932 visit to the town.

Historic Harbour Grace

A pirate and a pilot made this Newfoundland community famous. *by A.G. Luke & J.D. Durand*

HE ARRIVED IN THE SEVENTEENTH century, and she departed in the twentieth century. Peter Easton and Amelia Earhart left indelible impressions on the Newfoundland and Labrador coastal community of Harbour Grace.

Easton arrived in Newfoundland in 1602 as an English privateer in command of three warships. He was commissioned by Queen Elizabeth I to enforce British order among the lawless fishermen of many nations who lived along the Newfoundland coast. Folklore has it that he even rescued an Irish princess — Sheila Na Geira — from a Dutch privateer.

But he and his crewmen were stranded without pay when Elizabeth's successor, James I, downsized the British fleet after making peace with Spain in 1604. Thus began Easton's career as one of the most successful pirates in history.

He plundered ships along North America's eastern seaboard and as far south as the Caribbean, adding ships and crew to his pirate fleet as he went. In 1610, Easton fortified Harbour Grace and established it as his base for the next four years. Daphne Mercer, tourism coordinator for Harbour Grace, mentioned that "Peter Easton is a hero in Harbour Grace and indeed Newfoundland and Labrador. This is believed to be the only public memorial to a pirate in Canada, and each tourism season brings thousands to town to visit Peter Easton's fort."

Centuries later, Harbour Grace, located in southeast Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, again came into the spotlight when, on May 20, 1932, Amelia Earhart lifted off from the town's airfield to begin her solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean.

With a Thermos bottle of soup and a can of tomato juice, the thirty-four-year-old pilot weathered the journey in just under fifteen hours, landing in a pasture in Londonderry, Northern Ireland.

A pirate display at Conception Bay Museum in Harbour Grace, Newfoundland and Labrador.

Receiving worldwide recognition as the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean, the already famous Earhart used her stratospheric stature to promote equal opportunity for women in aviation and in other fields. In 1937 she embarked on her final adventure, an around-the-world flight with navigator Fred Noonan. They lost radio contact somewhere over the South Pacific Ocean and were never heard from again. The mystery of their disappearance remains unsolved.

A welcome sign for the town of Harbour Grace depicts a ship and a plane, representing the twin legacies of Easton and Earhart. A statue honouring Earhart can be viewed at Kearney Memorial Park. This was funded by Roger Pike, who also donated a 1943 DC-3 plane that sits nearby. Named the *Spirit of Harbour Grace*, the Douglas Aircraft was formerly in service with the United States Air Force in North Africa during the Second World War and then served as a cargo plane. The plane was retired in 1988 and was donated to the town in 1993.

Just down the road in the historic Water Street district is the Hotel Harbour Grace (formerly Archibald's Hotel) where Earhart stayed prior to her flight.

Earhart and Easton are both honoured in the theme rooms at the Conception Bay Museum, which occupies a former 1870s custom house and is open from June to September. The Earhart exhibit in the Aviation Room displays replicas of her flying attire, and photographs illustrate her successful flight from the Harbour Grace airstrip. A model and history of the 1,220-metre-long gravel landmark are also provided. Other artifacts include pioneering relics from transatlantic aircraft and text about pilots utilizing this acclaimed takeoff point.

The museum's Pirate Room features a mannequin of Peter Easton that recounts his experiences in Harbour Grace via an audio recording. His ship, *The Happy Adventure*, is replicated in a display case, as is a model of his fort. Locally hand-painted history boards describe the prevalence of piracy and the vital transatlantic fishery route.

A student guiding a museum tour admitted to us that "it's cool having a pirate as a town founder of sorts. Many people are aware of Amelia Earhart's famous solo flight but don't realize that it originated in our town."

A.G. LUKE AND J.D. DURAND

Left: Governor General David Johnston speaks with a group of award-winning history teachers at Rideau Hall. Top: Students and teachers listen to a presentation at Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health in Ottawa. Above: Pierre Berton Award winner Merna Forster with the Governor General.

TEACHABLE MOMENTS

Canada's History Society is committed to supporting and celebrating our amazing history educators.

In April 2016, Canada's History brought together more than fifty past recipients of the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Teaching. For four days in Ottawa these leading educators participated in national discussions about how we can best teach Canadian history.

Highlights of the event included a discussion at Rideau Hall with Governor General David Johnston and a full afternoon of development sessions at the University of Ottawa, where teachers and faculty shared best practices on a number of important topics. For the teachers, it was an exceptional opportunity to work together with peers who share their dedication to teaching Canadian history.

In November 2016, Canada's History hosted the Governor General's History Awards in Ottawa. The Governor General's History Awards recognize the exceptional work of teachers, students, academics, museums, and community groups in Canada.

A highlight of the multi-day event was a visit to the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health by our Young Citizens contest winners and Governor General's History Award recipients.

The recipients toured the award-winning facility, exploring an exhibit on the history of residential schools in Canada, while our Young Citizens participated in a special Imagine a Canada workshop. Afterwards, both groups gathered to share their experiences.

CANADA'S
HISTORY
INSIDE HOLIDAY BOOK & GIFT GUIDE
FORMERLY THE BEAVER
BATTLE OF BRITAIN
HOW CANADIAN FLY BOYS SAVED ENGLAND FROM THE NAZIS
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FORGOTTEN INUIT EXPLORERS

AWARD-WINNING STORIES

Canada's History magazine received two nominations at the 2016 National Magazine Awards for the feature articles, "A Pox on our Nation" and "The Twisted Genius of George Feyer." It also won an Audience Development Award (Gold) from the Circulation Management Association of Canada and was recognized at the Canadian Cover Awards (newsstand) with a Gold Award for the December 2014 – January 2015 issue. Capping off the award-winning year, *Canada's History* and *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids* were co-winners of Magazine of the Year at the Manitoba Magazine Publishers Association Awards and received several other awards and nominations.

RIDEAU HALL, BRITTANEY GAWLEY, RIDEAU HALL

REACHING READERS

Message from the Chair

In 2016, Canada's History reached more than 1.1 million Canadians.

The figure is provided by Vividata, Canada's leading media measurement service. It represents the number of people – each and every one of you – who read the stories we publish in our magazines and online at CanadasHistory.ca.

It is especially relevant because it reflects a diverse demographic that increasingly mirrors that of our country.

David Ross

Whether your family goes back generations, or you are recent arrivals, or you are members of Indigenous communities that have called Canada home for millennia, you all offer valuable perspectives on our country's shared past.

At Canada's History Society, we believe all Canadians are best served when they share their stories – both with one another and with the wider world.

I am pleased to be part of a board of directors that represents diversity in geography and gender, bringing a range of history, language, and publishing talent to the work of engaging Canadians. We welcomed Ry Moran and Michael Rea as new members to our board in 2016.

Our publishing and history programming celebrates your stories, welcomes your perspectives, and helps to connect communities by promoting greater understanding among all citizens and regions.

Thank you for your support.

– David Ross

THE 9th CANADA'S HISTORY FORUM
ENGAGING AUTHENTIC INDIGENOUS HISTORIES
LE 9e FORUM HISTOIRE CANADA
RACONTER LES HISTOIRES AUTHENTIQUES DES PEUPLES AUTOCHTONES
CANADA'S HISTORY

Above: Attendees gather for the 2016 National History Forum in Ottawa.
Top right: Ry Moran, director of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.
Right: Elder Claudette Commanda offers a prayer to open the forum.

VALUED VOICES

The theme of the 2016 Canada's History Forum, held on November 27 at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, was "Engaging Authentic Indigenous Histories," a topic that is particularly relevant today.

Speakers from across Canada shared their stories and experiences related to engaging with Indigenous history from academic, classroom, and personal perspectives. Canada's History was grateful for the guidance of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation in organizing the forum.

The next day, the 2016 Governor General's History Award recipients were recognized for their exceptional work. The recipients received their awards at Rideau Hall, were recognized on Parliament Hill in the House of Commons, and then were celebrated at the annual History Makers gala, hosted by Canadian Olympian Alexandre Despatie.

The final toast of the night went to Merna Forster, recipient of the 2016 Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award. Forster was honoured for her efforts to promote and celebrate the history of women in Canada.

CANADA DAY GIVEAWAY

To commemorate Canada Day 2016, the Society published free issues of both *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids* and *Canada's History* magazine and distributed them at community celebrations across the country.

The Society published 40,000 English and French editions of *Kayak* and 100,000 English and French copies of *Canada's History*. An additional 3,000 French copies each of *Histoire Canada* and *Kayak* were distributed through *La Liberté*, a French-language newspaper in Manitoba. The issues were warmly received by community groups.

Kayak
LET'S CELEBRATE!

DAVID ROSS PHOTO: NORTHERN ARTISTS; TOP RIGHT: BRITTANY GAWLEY; BOTTOM RIGHT: JANET WALKER

CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY HONOUR ROLL 2016

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Canada's History Society extends a special thanks to all of our donors for their generosity. This year's contributions from more than 1,600 subscribers and partners, individuals and organizations, realized a total of $2,674,237 in support of our mission to promote greater popular interest in Canadian history. Gifts of $100 or more have been recognized in this honour roll.

We acknowledge with appreciation the gifts made in memory of Founding Publisher Rolph Huband, as well as special contributions received in support of the national network of Heritage Fairs.

Sincere thanks to the generous leaders whose major, multi-year contributions of $50,000 or more are specially recognized in the company of Adventurers.

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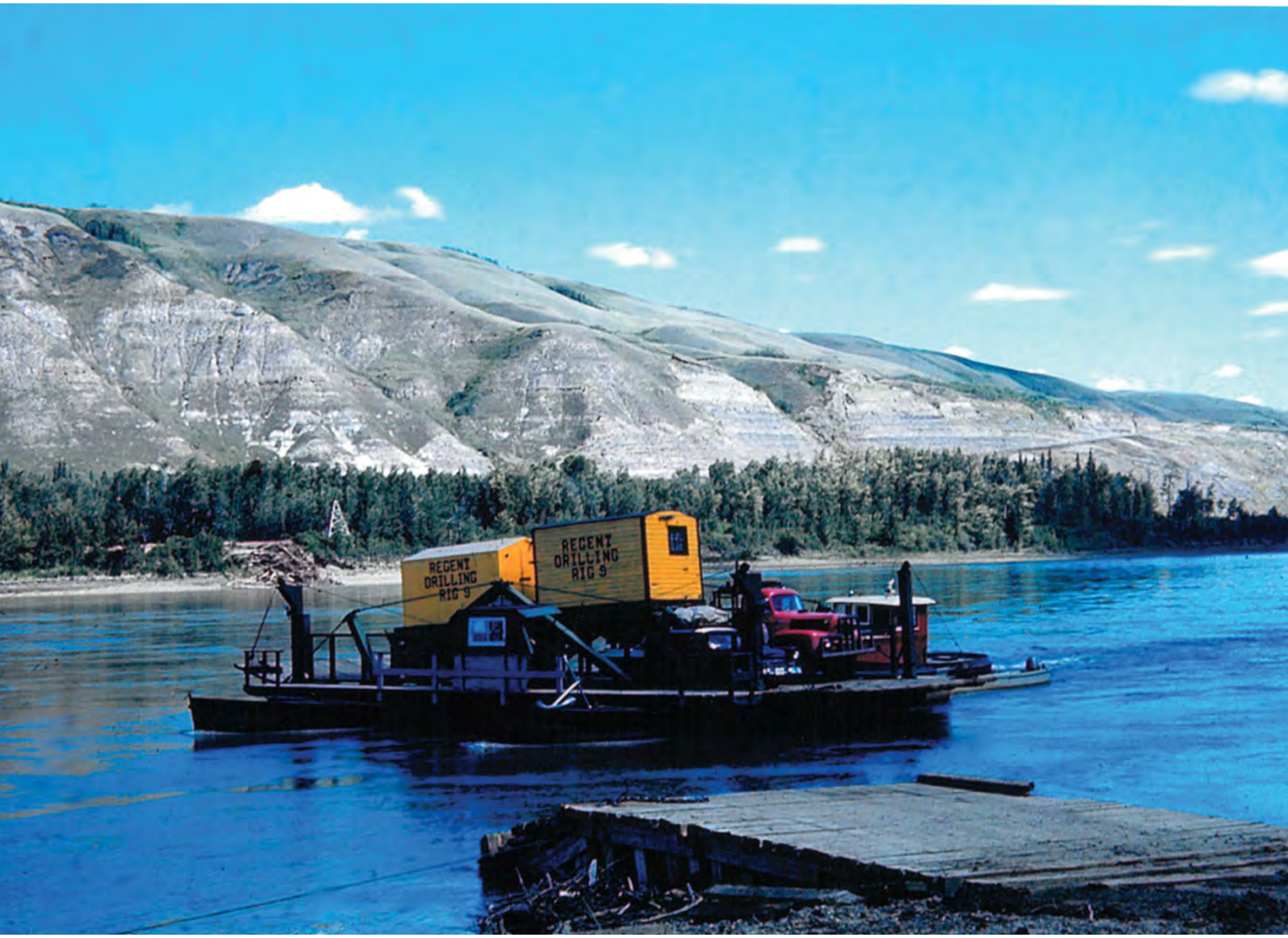

River crossing

This photo shows oil drilling equipment being ferried across the Peace River in northwest Alberta in 1955, when oil exploration was a major activity in the region.

I was transferred that year from the Alberta Forest Service in Coleman to Grande Prairie to work as a game officer with the game branch of the Alberta Department of Lands and Forests. I was the first game officer stationed in the south Peace country. Until then, wildlife enforcement had been left to forest officers and the RCMP.

The ferry at Dunvegan, ninety kilometres north of Grande Prairie, was at the time the only river crossing between the British Columbia border and the town of Peace River, Alberta. In 1960, when Alberta's longest vehicle suspension bridge was completed, ferry service at Dunvegan was discontinued, and this ferry was relocated further downstream to La Crête, Alberta.

Fort Dunvegan was established as a North West Company trading post in 1805 and later became a Hudson's Bay Company trading post. It was also a major Roman Catholic and Anglican mission site.

The present Dunvegan Provincial Park is home to the restored Hudson's Bay Company Factor's House, the St. Charles Church and Rectory, and the Revillon Freres trading post. It's also a favourite local camping location.

Submitted by Bill Weber of Sherwood Park, Alberta.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be cropped or adjusted as necessary for presentation in the magazine. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

OUR PAST SHAPES OUR FUTURE • NOTRE PASSÉ TRANSFORME NOTRE FUTUR

CANADA’S HISTORY SOCIETY

The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada’s History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson’s Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation’s diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society’s work includes: *Canada’s History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada’s History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General’s History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L’importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l’histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d’histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d’Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l’ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*,
le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l’histoire du Canada*,
le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d’histoire du Gouverneur général.

CANADA’S HISTORY

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